PREMIUM.

PRESENTED to *Edmund Dorr*
by the Trustees of the ALBANY MECHANIC ACADEMY, for his Proficiency in *learning*
he being the best Scholar in his Class.

October 31, 1820.

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A VOYAGE

ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE

YEARS 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, AND 1804;

IN WHICH

THE AUTHOR VISITED

THE

PRINCIPAL ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN,

AND THE

ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS OF PORT JACKSON AND NORFOLK ISLAND.

BY JOHN TURNBULL.

FIRST AMERICAN, FROM THE LONDON EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:

PUBLISHED BY BENJAMIN AND THOMAS KITE,

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PREFACE.

THE Author thinks it a duty which he owes the public, to inform them, that when the following materials were collected, he had not the most distant idea of their being published. They were drawn up at first merely for the amusement and information of his private friends.

From the remoteness of the scene of action, and the novelty of the objects, he conceived they could not fail to be in some measure interesting.

As the present state of many of these countries is but very imperfectly known, the Author has been induced, through the persuasion of those friends, to lay them before the public.

Respecting the Brazils, our sentiments are given freely and without reserve.

The Cape of Good Hope is a subject which has so often been treated of, that the Author has but little more than touched upon it.

The colony of New South Wales is daily becoming an object of greater importance to this country. In treating of this colony he has endeavoured to confine himself to such subjects as appeared to him to be most interesting, and but little spoken of by former writers.

The principal part of his observations are confined within the tropics, particularly the Society and Sandwich Islands, where the reader will perceive a wonderful contrast in the genius and dispositions of the two nations. Whilst the Sandwich Islanders are making rapid advances towards civilization and a knowledge of the mechanical arts, the natives of the Society Islands, for whom nature may be said to have exerted her utmost efforts, by a strange perversion of her laws, have lifted up a high hand to counteract her intentions.

The following pages are full in detail of the present state of the missionaries; the Author having spared no pains to exhibit a full picture of the present state, and present character, of those islanders, to whose improvement their benevolent efforts are directed.

Something remains to be said as to the style; and diction of the work; upon neither of which the Author founds any pretensions; the greater part of his life having passed in the exercise of his profession, that of a seaman.

If he is intelligible without offence, and not barbarous with regard to his style, he is satisfied, and throws himself on the indulgence of a generous public.

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VOYAGES

IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

CHAP. I.

PURPOSE OF THE VOYAGE....DEPARTURE FROM ENGLAND....ARRIVAL ON THE COAST OF BRAZIL.

THERE are few dangers, and still fewer difficulties, which can deter men of enterprise from any pursuit which they consider as the means of independence. If the colder moralist, in his abstract reasoning, brand this desire with the name of a pernicious avidity, the practical philosopher, tempering the conclusions of his reason by the modes of life, considers it in a more favourable point of view, hailing it as the grand moving impulse of commerce, and effectually the means of improving the whole condition of life.

Whilst second officer of the Barwell, in her last voyage to China, in the year 1799, the first officer of that ship and myself, had every reason to suppose from our own actual observation, that the Americans carried on a most lucrative trade to the north-west of that vast continent. Strongly impressed with this persuasion, we resolved on our

return home to represent it to some gentlemen of well known mercantile enterprise. They approved of the speculation, and lost no time in preparing for its execution.

It was some time before we could find a vessel suited to the purpose of so long and perilous a voyage. Anew ship, and built wholly of British oak, was at length purchased, and the command of it given the above mentioned gentleman, whilst the cargo and trading part was entrusted to the writer. Having each of us as owners considerable shares, we were equally interested in the success of the voyage.

Having obtained the necessary permission of the honourable East India Company, and completed all our preparations, we proceeded to Portsmouth in the latter end of May 1800 ; and having here joined our convoy and the East India fleet, finally left England on the first of July to push our fortunes in regions but little frequented by Europeans. Here let us premise once for all, that in the course of our voyage we shall not weary the patience of our reader by the technical extracts of our log book, such subjects affording as little variety, as utility to the general reader.

With fair winds and sanguine hopes, we soon reached the Island of Madeira. We were here left by some of our convoy. I had heard so many, and such picturesque descriptions of this Garden of the World, that I was anxious to visit it ; and a fortunate opportunity presenting itself, I availed myself of it, and went on shore.

It was now ten in the forenoon of as bright a day

as the meridian glory of a southern sun ever produced to cheer the heart of man. The vineyards yet retained on their leaves some of the morning dew; the face of the island in many places was clothed with tropical shrubs: the orange, melon, sugar-cane, and banana, gratified more than one sense by their hue and fragrance.

During the time I was on shore, I was much annoyed by innumerable swarms of mendicant friars; imploring my charity in the name of the Holy Virgin and all the saints of their calendar. Wearied with their importunities, and to procure my ease, I threw them some of the smaller pieces of the Portuguese money, but I had here reckoned without my host; for my liberality only procured me other applications, and this in an almost endless succession. Why is this impudent mendicity thus not only tolerated, but sanctified as it were, by the laws of the country? What effect must it have on the genius of the people?

In the several quarters of the town I observed a multitude of petty shops, presenting no bad epitome of a negro market in the West Indies; being furnished with what every other market would reject with disgust, such as putrid fish, rotten cheese, and rancid butter. Every thing was marked, as it were, with the peculiar characteristic of the Spanish and Portuguese possession; an indifference to filth or cleanliness, an invincible indolence, and a pride the more ludicrous, as contrasted with every circumstance which should induce a contrary feeling.

The island of Madeira, as is well known, is about

nineteen degrees to the south of England, and in circumference between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and thirty miles. The climate is delightful; even the ease and indolence of the natives cannot render wholly ineffectual the bounty of nature. From my transient view of this island, I could not but indulge the wish that, in the event of a war between the two countries, the British arms would take possession of this and the neighbouring island, Porto Santo. If England is in want of any colony, it is one where the industry of our countrymen might cultivate the grape. Indeed our haughty neighbours have long observed that, notwithstanding all our vast foreign settlements, we do not possess one island where the grape is successfully cultivated.

Leaving Madeira in the evening, we again continued our course to the latitude of twenty-seven degrees north, somewhat to the southward of the Canaries. His majesty's ship here left us, and we received new instructions, from the senior commander of the Indiamen. This gentleman was in fact the more disposed to accommodate us, as the superior sailing of our vessel rendered us no impediment to some of their heavier laden ships.

In this manner we continued to accompany the Indiamen to the latitude of eleven degrees north. Being in this latitude wholly out of all danger from the cruizers of the enemy, and losing much time by the comparative tardiness of our companions, we at length hoisted our colours, and gave a salute of nine guns, in acknowledgment of the kindness of our commodore; and having received

a polite return to our compliment, we parted, mutually satisfied. The Abundance store ship being bound to the Cape of Good Hope, took her leave at the same time; and as our destination was to the same port, we intended to keep her company.

It happened, however, in this, as in most other designs of the same nature, where the concurrence of so many circumstances are required. The Abundance was so heavy a sailer, that we were shortly compelled to separate. On the second day after this separation, we fell in with the homeward-bound East India fleet; consisting of twenty-two sail, and under the convoy of his majesty's ship Madras, of fifty guns. They sent a boat on board, anxiously inquiring the situation of affairs in Europe, in which we satisfied them to the full extent of our own political knowledge. We added a present of a small packet of newspapers; the value of which those alone will comprehend, who have been in the similar circumstance of a two years absence from their native land.

During the further progress of our voyage, we were so hampered by the southerly winds, as to have approached within two degrees and an half of the coast of Brazil. Our passage through the torrid zone was indeed singularly tedious; and the vessel, being new, and therefore unseasoned, was in a very leaky state.

These circumstances induced us to bear up for St. Salvadore; that the vessel might have the necessary repairs, previous to entering into the higher latitudes

On our arrival in this port, various were the con-

jectures of the inhabitants as to our vessel and the design of our voyage ; a circumstance which, in part, arose from the near resemblance of our vessel to a cutter brig. Some considered us as a French spy, on a reconnoitring voyage to the ports and coast ; and none was more busy in diffusing this report, than a mongrel Irishman, the commander of a packet in the Portuguese service. The most general opinion was that, under the disguise of a merchantman, we were in fact a British ship of war, and had entered the port for no other purpose, than that of examining the number and force of the Spaniards in the harbour. This story was as readily believed by the Spanish captains, who, to the number of seven, were in the port. Their terror removed every appearance of improbability ; they imagined, that not less than seventy or eighty of our crew were concealed under our hatches, and resolved not to venture too near us. Strange revolution in the history of nations : the cowardice of these people is now as proverbial as their former valour. But thus it ever will be with all nations which some accidental circumstances in their political situation condemn to a long period of inaction ; the national character, like that of the individual, losing all its energy in sloth. Let courage and military prowess cease to act, and it will shortly cease to exist.

These opinions soon reached the ears of the viceroy, and caused him to send a message summoning us to the palace on the following morning. In the mean time an officer and a strong military guard were stationed on board ; and, as if this was

iusufficient a guard boat on each side of the vessel: it was thus impossible for us to move even a foot from our station.

As a very great indulgence, we were permitted to receive the visit of one of the officers of the Queen East Indiaman, and thus learn the unfortunate fate of that ship; which, having caught fire, had burned to the water's edge, the whole cargo and many lives being lost upon the occasion. This gentleman was left at St. Salvadore to take charge of any treasure which might perchance be recovered, but finding that such recovery was impossible, he had engaged his passage home in a prize belonging to a whaler, and was now only detained by the terror of the prize-master lest, upon his leaving the harbour, the Spanish captains should execute their threats of reprisal. Our arrival here, therefore, proved a circumstance equally fortunate for each of those gentlemen; we were now more than a match for the Spaniards, and they were sufficiently conscious of it not to renew their threats.

In answer to our inquiries as to the circumstances of this capture, the prize-master informed us, that having fallen in with the ship on the coast of Brazil, they had given an immediate chace; and that the Spaniards abandoning their vessel, and removing their treasure, thirty seven thousand dallars, into the launch, had made all dispatch towards the shore. With a foresight justified by the event, the captain of the whaler, disregarding the ship, followed the launch; and having overtaken and compelled her to surrender without

resistance, secured the booty, and returned to the ship. Of this they took quiet possession ; and found her of no inconsiderable value, being laden with copper and hides. The vessel was ordered for St. Helena ; but from some damage to her rudder, and other accidents, had been compelled to bear up for St. Salvadore.

The Spanish captains in the harbour, as may be well imagined, felt a common interest in this event, and had accordingly threatened, and, I believe actually resolved to unite their force together, and recapture the whaler's prize. The prize-master anxiously sought our protection. He added what we had already learned from the officer of the Queen Indiamen, that a very strict intimacy, and a co-operation not well suited to a neutral power, existed between the Portuguese and Spaniards ; and that the English ships would be grossly deceived, if they entertained any confidence of a fair and equal treatment in any of the Portuguese ports on the Brazil coast.

The prize-master was now permitted to leave the port uninterrupted. As our boats passed and repassed, the Spaniards saluted us with a singular civility, at least as contrasted with the acrimony of the mutual abuse which passed between us.

CHAP. II.

VISIT TO THE VICEROY....CURSORY DESCRIPTION OF ST. SALVADORE....DEPARTURE.

ON the following morning we were occupied some time in preparing for our visit of ceremony to the governor. Previous to our departure the vessel underwent a thorough search from the officers of the customs, and the guard boats. A black Creole of the island of St. Thomas, and a captain in the Portuguese service, received us on landing, and offering his services as an interpreter, in other words as a spy, conducted us to the palace. He had a medal suspended from one of his button-holes, which he informed us had been presented to him by the prince of Brazil, and of which he appeared not a little proud.

It struck me forcibly that this appendage was displayed solely with a view of striking us with his consequence. On our arrival at the palace, for thus is the residence of the Viceroy termed, we had to wait some time before his excellency could honour us with an audience, whether that the Portuguese ceremony thus required, or that a grand levee of officers was in the act of paying their morning respects. We were at length ushered into the drawing room, and the presence of the

governor: he is said to be a member of the royal family of Portugal and of a true Portuguese appearance and habits. He was dressed as a general in the service, and received us with the characteristic ceremony, and cold haughtiness of the court of Lisbon. He addressed us in good English, and questioned us in a manner which appeared to indicate much suspicion.

Nothing could be more wearisome than the minute and jealous examination to which we were compelled to submit. Again and again were our papers, journal, and log book, and every other document, examined as well by his excellency, as his attendant officers. The conclusion confirmed us in what we had heard of the unjust preference given to our enemies, *for whilst the Spaniards in the horbour were lading and unlading, as deliberately and as much at their ease as if they were in Cadiz itself*, his excellency informed us that we must make all our necessary repairs in four days, and at the expiration of that period leave the harbour. Remonstrance was useless, the order was absolute.

Some further circumstances occurred to convince me, that a clandestine intercourse, very prejudicial to the interest of Great Britain in time of war, is maintained between the Spaniards and Portuguese; a circumstance so contrary to a fair neutrality, that I have no doubt that many of the ships from Brazil might be safely detained by our cruizers.

In the afternoon we received a hasty visit from our Creole linguist, to congratulate us upon a vic-

tory obtained on the coast over the French by some English ships. He urged us strongly to fire a salute according to the custom of the Portuguese upon similar occasions, but as his information was only general, we did not deem it entitled to this feu-de-joye.

This report, however, was afterwards confirmed. The Belliqueux and her convoy had taken two French frigates, and given chace to a third, a squadron that had much infested the Portuguese trade.

In our visits on shore we made the best use of the narrow liberty allowed us, and threw our eyes around us in search of such objects as usually attract the attention of strangers.

The city is large and populous, and appears divided by nature into an upper and lower town. The upper town is seated on the summit of an eminence: it commands an uninterrupted view of the bay and harbour of All Saints, the sea and clouds alone terminating the boundless prospect. The upper town is the seat of the viceroy, the civil and military officers, and principal merchants, whilst the lower town is for the most part occupied by inhabitants of the inferior order, retail tradesmen, adventurers, and persons following mechanical trades.

The town of St. Salvadore, next to that of Rio Janerio, is the most active with regard to its trade of any on the coast of Brazil. The commerce to the mother country, considering the characteristic indolence of the Portuguese, is very brisk and as the diamond mines require a numerous and constant supply of negroes, there is a considerable trade to the coast of Africa for this human mer-

chandise. It must be confessed, indeed, that the diamond mines could not be worked without these slaves, but perhaps diamonds, however inestimable, are thus purchased at a price too high.

In the dock-yard a ship of 64 guns was on the stocks: it was built of the country wood, a wood too heavy perhaps for this purpose, but undoubtedly much stronger than any European oak. The iron, pitch, and tar, I understood to have been brought from Lisbon, the policy of the parent country requiring every thing wrought or manufactured to be imported from thence....a circumstance but little felt as long as the paucity of workmen, and other sources of wealth to the adventurer, prevent the establishment of manufactures, but should the industry of the colony ever increase, and the improvement of agriculture augment the stock of raw materials, the importance of this selfish policy will not remain long unintelligible.

Sunday, being a high festival in the Portuguese calendar, the captain and myself seized this opportunity to visit the Portuguese churches. We found them corresponding in every respect both with the genius of their religion and the wealth of their settlement; they were magnificently adorned, and the ornaments of the images appeared to us to be very valuable. We found moreover, and though sailors, with some satisfaction, that there was one country in the world in which religion was fashionable, the churches being crowded with all ranks of people, from the meanest slave to his excellency the governor himself. So pleas-

ing and natural to the heart of man is true piety, that though protestants, and therefore having no predilection for his holiness the pope, we did not see this scene with indifference, and indeed it gave usa better opinon of them than any thing we had as yet seen amongst them.

It was not without great difficulty that we obtained a seat in the principal church. Our eyes were in some measure diverted from the preacher to the holy virgin, who arrayed in gold and jewels, with the prince of Brazil on her right hand elegantly accoutred, perhaps intimating by this his being one of her avowed champions and defenders, occupied the most conspicuous corner of the church. The bishop of the province, the second man in this part of Brazil, was the preacher : his discourse, as far as we understood it by our interpreter, was eloquent, and the more so perhaps, as conscious of his high rank, and holy functions, he addressed himself chiefly to the great, and lashed their vices and impieties, in a style of vigour and freedom, which a more humble preacher would scarcely have ventured.

Upon conclusion of the church service the image of the holy virgin, and her attendant the prince, was carried in procession through the streets of the city, the ladies saluting her from the windows and balconies, with garlands and chaplets showered upon her head. A theatric spectacle by no means unpleasing, if the zeal of a mistaken religion be admitted as an excuse for its errors.

After having paraded the town in every direction, the holy lady with all her appendages was

deposited in the next considerable church, there to rest till again wanted for a new feast, or a shower of rain. Through his seeming inattention to this sacred mummery, the captain was not looked on with a very good eye, his impiety called down upon him a severe reprimand. Not a street through which we passed but had one of these tutelary saints in some one or other of its most conspicuous parts, and thither in the evening assembled the populace in crowds, chaunting prayers or thanksgivings in the usual monotony of the Roman-catholic choristry.

Every thing that we saw convinced us of the value of this settlement to the British empire in the event of a rupture between the two countries. In the course of years it is pretty evident that France or ourselves must possess the Brazils, for a nation so weak as the Portuguese, so fallen in the estimation of Europe, will not long be allowed this monopoly of an extent of country, which she is as little able to use as to defend. If France should anticipate us, as she doubtless will, conquest being the fundamental principle of a military government, she will gain a spoil which would more than compensate the loss of Malta and Egypt. Such an acquisition as this would be of more solid advantages to us as a commercial nation than all the conquests of France: at all events should it fall into our hands it would be one means of securing a most honourable peace.

The day previous to our leaving the harbour, another Spanish vessel, heavily laden with near an hundred thousand dollars, and a rich cargo,

arrived in the port. It will readily be believed that we most sincerely regretted that we had not left the port the day before, as we might then have saluted this rich vessel, and probably saved the Spaniards the trouble of forwarding their money home in Portuguese bottoms, a manœuvre which I very much suspect.

There evidently, indeed, existed at this time a very close political union between the two powers, whether from their geographical situation, as neighbours, both here and in the mother-country, or from the circumstance of their being a *par nobile fratrum*, I will not take upon me to determine. I am convinced, however, that the fact existed at that time, and perhaps it is not saying too much to assert that it exists at this very moment.

The fourth day was now expiring, and with it the civility, or rather forbearance from hostility, of the Portuguese. The harbour-master came on board with orders from the viceroy not to return till he had seen us out of the harbour. We obeyed this peremptory command with no very good grace. It may be needless to say that our reception was not worse than that of almost every other English vessel which has happened to touch at their ports.

Being very much at a loss to account for a conduct so ill suited to a civilized nation, and towards the people of a country to whom, in the present state of Europe, they owe the very existence of their empire, I took some pains to ascertain the cause. At length, being introduced to

a major in the service, a veteran who had more knowledge than his brother officers, I learned that the political connection between England and Portugal, had not unfrequently involved the latter in broils with their neighbours, and that it had thus become a point of policy to extenuate this jealousy by an appearance, and even a reality, of harshness throughout all their intercourse with us.

CHAP. III.

ARRIVAL AND STAY AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE....PASSAGE AND ARRIVAL AT BOTANY BAY.

THE southerly winds still prevailing, some days elapsed before we could clear the coast. During this interval, we had the satisfaction to make some return for the incivility of our reception by giving chace to as many Portuguese vessels as happened to fall in our way. The superiority of our sailing rendered it no difficult matter to us to overhaul as many as we could see, however arduous their efforts to escape us. They imagined us at any distance an enemy's ship, and nothing could be more ludicrous than their looks of terror, as they were compelled to bring to, but when relieved they made a thousand congees, saying *stabon anglois.*

After having cleared the coast, we continued our course to the Cape of Good Hope. Our pas-

sage from the Brazils to this well known port had nothing beyond the ordinary occurrences in similar voyages, and which have been so often repeated, that we deem it needless to give them place here.

Suffice it, therefore, to say that we reached the Cape without accident, and from an agreeable voyage, almost without weariness. Upon our landing we were introduced by the port captain to admiral sir Roger Curtis, this gallant officer being at this time commander in chief of the squadron upon this station. The admiral received us with that welcome and politeness so characteristic of the British naval officer: he inquired the news from England and the Brazils, and thanked us even for the inconsiderable intelligence we had to communicate. He said that he had several cruizers on the coast against the Spaniards, and expected that some of them might prove fortunate. He was anxious for the particulars of the engagement, but we were here as much in the dark as himself.

Our next introduction was to the governor, by whom we were received with equal politeness. My mind was too much occupied in the discharge of my duty to give much attention to the objects around me. But I was forcibly struck with the romantic situation of the town, embosomed as it were in a valley, the sides of which gradually ascend, till they reach the foot of the mountains, which like a natural wall encircle it on all sides. The houses are almost all of stone and all equally clean: they are white or yellow washed, and from

their cleanliness and the mildness of the climate, have all the appearance of being but newly-built. The inside is generally paved with flag stones brought from India for that purpose, and in so hot a climate their coolness is no inconsiderable acquisition. The inhabitants are composed of adventurers from every part of the northern world, and every circle of the German empire.

We had now been a fortnight at the Cape, and the Abundance storeship not having as yet appeared, nor any tidings of her reaching us, we began to entertain some apprehensions of her safety; but intelligence at length arrived that, under distress for water, she had been compelled to put into Saldanha Bay. It had been our original intention to have accompanied this ship to the Cape; how much time did we save by the change of our purpose! A hint, by the way, to ship-owners, who, without regard to the difference of sailing, and other circumstances, are positive in their instructions that their ships shall keep together, and thus not unfrequently redouble the expence of a voyage, and in a voyage of adventure almost always produce a failure. In these cases the discretionary power of the captain can never be too unlimited.

Our time passed so pleasantly at the Cape that we should not have regretted even a longer stay. Our intercourse with the town's people was satisfactory on both sides; we were received at once with the civility due to strangers, and the confidence which only exists between those of the same country. The singular mixture of inhabit-

ants has had one not unpleasing effect; the characteristic singularities of the natives of different countries, whether by collision, or insensible and mutual imitation, are in a great degree polished away, and thus none of them are found to exist in any very repugnant excess. The Dutchman, indeed, still wears his hat in almost every assembly whether public or private; and, in despite of every change of weather, the Frenchman of the Cape will still carry his umbrella; but the Dutchman of the Cape is still another creature from his countryman of the Hague, and the Frenchman is here some degrees less frivolous.

The general character of the people, at least as it appeared to us, is made up of content, independence, and all those happy qualities which are the never failing scions of so fertile a root. Industry is here the certain means of fortune. There is commerce suited to every kind of capital, and a certain and profitable market for all produce and minor manufactures. Hence independence, and hence (is it not needless to mention a result so inevitable?) cheerfulness, self-esteem, and social affection.

The usual parade of the people is the company's gardens, so called from having been the property of the Dutch East India company, when in possession of this settlement. They are disposed with great taste, and from the advantage of the soil and climate have a greater collection of Asiatic and tropical plants, and in far greater luxuriance, than can be found in perhaps any other garden in the world. The residence of the go-

vernor is within this inclosure, amidst fruit trees and an aromatic shrubbery, the beauty and fragrance of which is a gratification to more than one sense: in others of the gardens belonging to individuals, of which there are many, the town's-people spend their hours of relaxation. As to their amusements, suffice it to say, that from their resemblance to our own, I had some difficulty not to imagine myself in England.

Our stay at the Cape had now been near a month, and it was necessary to obey the calls of business, and proceed on our voyage. We accordingly took leave of our friends, and getting out to sea, proceeded with a favourable wind towards Botany Bay, the next point of our destination. Nothing occurred during our passage, except that the sailing of our little ship, not exceeding one hundred and twenty tons, surpassed our most sanguine expectations; she was, literally speaking, half way under water the whole way, but dived into it like an arrow, and rose to the surface without straining a rope yarn.

It was our intention to pass through the straits which seperate Vandieman's Land from New Holland; a channel which, having been some time before discovered by a gentleman of the name of Bass, the surgeon of his majesty's ship the Reliance, had been thence called Bass's straits. We made our first land after leaving the Cape in the latitude of thirty-eight. The wind at this time blowing from the eastward, we stood close towards the shore and observed several columns of smoke arising from fires rather widely scattered on the

main land. From the continuance of the easterly winds it was five days before we could gain our entrance, and for some days more we were compelled to ply to windward. The wind at length shifting suddenly, and rendering it too difficult to wheather the islands to the north, we bore up for Bankes' Straits, and in three days afterwards reached Port Jackson, being the third vessel that had ever attempted this passage.

On our arrival we found that we had a more numerous company than we expected, the following ships being in the harbour; his majesty's ship the Porpoise, the Lady Nelson surveying vessel, and the Royal Admiral from Europe, the Trimmer from Bengal, and Harbinger from the Cape; the three last being, with regard to this port at least, on the same speculation as ourselves. We did not see them with much satisfaction, having every reason to believe that a market never very extensive, must now be glutted to the full. Our apprehensions were indeed too justly founded; we had moreover the mortification to learn, that the colony was almost wholly exhausted of the grand pursuit of all adventurers....money. They were indeed as poor as possible, but as we found that they had still something, we were not yet wholly discouraged.

It is a precept as good in commerce, as in theoretic philosophy, to make the best of ill fortune, and where we cannot get all that we had hoped, to spare no efforts to get all that we can. If there is seldom any good so perfect as not to have its alloy of ill, so is there as seldom any disappointment so complete as to leave no nook

of hope. It is a lesson that I have learned from experience, that if half the time and natural vigour which is usually consumed in lamenting a misfortune, was more wisely employed in seeking a remedy, there are few disappointments which will not admit of alleviation.

These reflections induced a resolution which other circumstances confirmed. The season for the north-west speculation was advancing rapidly. The captain and myself agreed that, as the only alternative left, under the existing circumstances, I should continue at Port Jackson to dispose of the cargo in the best manner possible, whilst himself should proceed in the vessel upon the north-west speculation.

CHAP. IV.

STAY AT SIDNEY.....POPULATION OF THAT TOWN.....GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE SETTLERS.....CIVIL GOVERNMENT.....BARRINGTON.....PARTIES.....TAXES.

THIS resolution having rendered me a resident *pro tempore*, presented me with a favourable opportunity of giving some attention to the nature and circumstances of this often mentioned, but little known, settlement. It is true, indeed, that the disposal of my cargo, as my chief business, occupied the greater part of my time; but I had still leisure enough to look around me, and an observation even more superficial would have engraved on my memory objects of such daily and hourly recurrence.

It struck forcibly on my mind as one of the characteristics of the colony, that it is almost the only settlement in the world in which the residence of Europeans has produced absolutely no change in the manners, or useful knowledge of the natives. The inhabitants of Otaheite, as will be hereafter mentioned, have adopted our fishing hooks, and acknowledging the superiority of our tools, have almost universally laid aside their implements of bone. The Sandwich islanders are in many respects still more advanced in the knowledge and use of European commodities. It is not so with the natives of New Holland; they have gained nothing in civilization since their first discovery. They are still the same savages as in the time of Phillips and their first settlement.

The town of Sydney, the capital of the colony, and the seat of the government, is divided into two parts by a river, which empties itself into a cove named after the town. Sidney Cove has thus a double advantage, that of being well and plentifully provided with excellent water, and, at the same time, possessing a harbour which might contain with ease all the royal navy of Great Britain. These twofold advantages rendered it much more eligible than Botany Bay, the original destination.

The peculiar circumstances which belonged to the first settlement of this colony, rendered it necessary to have storehouses erected for the reception of provisions, houses for the convicts, and barracks for the military, upon the arrival of the first settlers. These buildings, in different parts of the country most fit for cultivation, formed the

outlines of the present towns, of which the chief are Sidney, Parramatta and Hawkesbury. The adjacent country being parcelled out amongst such of the settlers as preferred this means of livelihood, others of a more mechanical and sedentary propensity, collected together in the villages, erecting shops, establishing trades, and becoming factors in the mutual exchange of commodities between the people of the country and the towns. From such beginnings the villages have increased to towns, and Sidney, according to the most accurate calculation I am enabled to make, has now a population of two thousand six hundred inhabitants. They may be classed under the following denominations.

Military and civil establishment - -	450
Convicts employed by the crown in the public works, bridges, batteries, and dock-yards, &c. - - - - -	400
Taylors, Shoemakers, Bakers, Butchers, Carpenters, and Masons, - - -	250
Fishermen - - - -	20
People employed in boats, getting wood for shipping, bringing grain from the Hawkesbury sealers in Bass's Straits, chiefly employed on the water - - -	350
Petty traders or pedlars who gain a livelihood by trading - - - -	40
Women - - - - -	600
Children - - - - -	450

The space occupied by the town is about a mile from one extremity to the other. With the exception of the store houses and other public buildings, eight out of ten of the houses are only

one story in height, and whether built at the first formation of the colony, or immediately afterwards, are for the most part composed of wattle and plaister, and some few, but few indeed, of brick and stone. The absolute want of lime, or any sufficient substitute, except that made from shells, is an invincible impediment against more substantial architecture.

Sydney, however, is in every respect well situated to become, in progress of years, a port of very active commerce. It already comprehends upwards of one third of the whole population of New South Wales. The effect of the climate has been rather over rated. It is chiefly visible in children born in the country of European parents, but it is not visible so much in any defect, as in a certain characteristic trait of countenance. These children differ nothing in size or stature from the common standard of Europe, but are invariably of one complexion, fair and with white hair. Out of eleven hundred children born in New South Wales there is scarcely a single exception to this national, as we may call it, distinction. Their eyes are usually black and very brilliant, their disposition quick and volatile, and their loquacity such as might render them a proverb.

The settlers follow as much as possible the customs and manner of life of their native country, and are therefore liable to the same maladies with their countrymen of the same order. Intemperance, encouraged perhaps by the intensity and continuance of labour, so necessary in a new settlement, has many victims, and some have fallen a premature sacrifice to dysenteries, and com-

plaints in the liver, the diseases of all new settled lands.

Nearly one half of the whole population both men and women are Irish, many of them having been transported hither for their seditious practices. It is not too much to be dreaded that the evil of their treason is only removed to another sphere: thus far I will assert, that their transportation has not in any degree changed their principles.

Were an enemy to make their appearance in any force which should promise effect, I am persuaded that this part of the convicts, at least, would join them, and at the hazard of their lives facilitate the attempt, for they almost to a man consider themselves as martyrs suffering in a glorious cause. The French ships that touched there on discovery, and traders from the Mauritius, lead them to expect help from that quarter. There is indeed one security against any attack of this nature, the little value of the settlement to the conquerors. But if New South Wales is nothing in itself, like Malta it may have a relative importance, which should render its security a matter of political consideration.

Should government continue to send out people of this description to this country, it would be highly necessary that the military establishment should be augmented, for at this time the corps was reduced to the peace establishment. Indeed the internal situation of the colony, and the circumstances of the civil government, require of themselves this augmentation, and unless it is made, the Irish transports (I speak of what I am

fully persuaded) will not hesitate to wrest the reins from the hand of the magistrate, for even in their present state they have evinced symptoms of restiveness. It is nothing to say in answer to this that the arrival of the first two or three ships would recal them to their duty. Their rebellion would have previously had its course, and from characters of such desperate profligacy, and released from all restraint of law, the ruin must be as extended as the colony. Prevention is much more suited to wisdom and humanity than punishment.

The colonial government of this settlement as established by act of parliament, consists of a civil, a criminal, and a vice admiralty court: the civil court answers to the common pleas and king's bench, and by the patent of the colony is to consist of the judge advocate, and two principal inhabitants chosen by the governor. The court, thus constituted, has authority to grant summons, capiases, and every other form of writ, together with letters of administration under the hand and seal of the judge advocate, and to be executed by the provost marshal. An appeal, however, lies from this court to the governor, who sits in person on these occasions, and whose judgment, if the subject in dispute be under three hundred pounds, is final: if above that sum, the last judgment remains with the king in council.

The criminal court comprehends all felonies, treasons, and misdemeanors, and by the same patent, consists of the judge advocate, and six officers of his majesty's service by sea and land, who sit also by precept from the governor. An indictment is prepared against the prisoner, and

evidence adduced for the prosecution in the same manner as in England, only that the prisoner must plead in person, as no solicitor or attorney is yet allowed. The court pronounces the guilt or acquittal of the prisoner, and in cases where the exact punishment is not pointed out by law, gives a discretionary sentence. The decision is by the majority of the members, but in cases which extend to life and death, unless the court is unanimous, the sentence is delayed and reported to the king in council. Except in this case the sentence of the criminal court is final: the prisoner, however, may still apply to the clemency of the governor, with whom it lies either to put it in execution, or suspend, mitigate, or pardon, according to his own discretion.

The vice admiralty court by the patent is to consist of the judge, and twelve sufficient members, planters, merchants, and seafaring persons; but should the circumstances not admit of this number, four and the judge shall be deemed competent. This court has jurisdiction over all felonies, piracies, and misdemeanors committed on the high seas or harbours, within the limits of the government of New South Wales.

The police of the colony is invested in the magistrates who are appointed by the governor, one or more to each principal district. Under them, in every district, is a head and petty constable, and for the better preservation of order, a certain number of watchmen where the circumstances seem to require it.

The celebrated George Barrington held the office of high constable of Paramatta for many

years, and in the faithful and vigorous discharge of his duty acquitted himself much to the satisfaction of the government. At this time, having absolutely lost the use of his intellectual faculties, he had retired on a small pension allowed him for former services; he was emaciated and apparently in the last stage of human life, a melancholy instance of abused talents, and the force of remorse, and conscious sensibility, on a mind intended for better things.

Strange as it may appear, the multitude of law suits and litigations in this colony exceed all proportion to its population. There were not less than three hundred capiases, summons, and executions, to be brought forward at the next sitting of the civil court, and the fees of office to the provost marshal were said to amount to nearly three hundred pounds. Indeed the lawyers and publicans are the most profitable trades in the colony. One of these kind gentlemen of the quill had the modesty to charge me *4l.* 6*s.* for writing half a sheet of paper, and in answer to my remonstrance, replied that he lost money by me. This fellow was a convict. Another of a different trade, and a convict, demanded five shillings for some very trifling repairs of a lock, and being told by a colonist at hand that he had never charged him more than half the sum, the fellow replied that the lock belonged to a ship, and that it was his rule of trade to charge a ship double. Many instances of the same kind might be enumerated, but the character of the people may as fully be inferred from these.

In many of the convicts, indeed, so little, as to

their moral reformation, is the effect produced by their transportation, and the habits of industry to which the regulations of the colony so wisely compel them, that many of them maintain a regular correspondence with their brothers of iniquity in England, and either continue in the colony or return, according as circumstances promise more or less success to their re-entrance upon their former system of maurading. Indeed, should curiosity induce any one to visit New South Wales, I must recommend them to remember that they are in a country of convicts.

During the whole time I was in the colony, which was between five and six months, parties ran very high between the governor and the military officers, some of whom were sent home to England to stand their trial.

The colony at this time was suffering much both from the want of animal food, and all other sort of provisions. The Porpoise was dispatched to Otaheite for pork, and in the interim of its departure and arrival some Americans on the way to China touched at Port Jackson, and having on board an adventure of beef and flour sold it with great advantage to the government.

I heard it asserted by some of the best informed of the gentlemen of the colony, that this dearth is in some degree to be imputed to the false economy of the government; the price of animal food, as fixed by the order of the governor, bearing no proportion to that of labour. The colony under another regulation in this affair, the price of sixpence for pork, for example, being advanced to eightpence, would be fully equal to its own

consumption, as there is no local difficulty, or physical impediment, to the rearing a good and numerous stock.

Taxes and imposts are introducing themselves very fast into this colony. The greater part are imposed by the authority of the governor, and some by the general consent of the principal inhabitants. They are chiefly as follows.

	£.	s.	d.
Permission for shipping to enter the harbour - - - -	0	15	0
Ditto to trade - - -	0	10	0
Ditto to wood - - -	0	10	0
Ditto to water - -	0	10	0
Clearance certificate - -	0	5	0
Pilotage - - -	7	0	0
Every package landed from a vessel	0	0	6
Colonial boats, &c. for coasting trade - - - -	0	5	0

These imposts are levied by the naval officer who is allowed ten per cent. for collection. The whole amount of these imposts, expense of collection deducted, is applied to the benefit of the orphan establishment of the colony, to which purpose is likewise applied the proceeds of all fines, and seizures, and a duty of 5*l.* on every victualler, or dealer in spirits, amounting to about twenty in number, for their several licences. Besides these imposts is one of one shilling per gallon on all spirits, and sixpence on every gallon of wine imported, the amount of both of which imposts is applied to the public works, the building of jails, and making and repairing the high roads.

CHAP. V.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE NATIVES OF NEW SOUTH WALES.... SINGULAR TALENTS OF MIMICRY.....PERSONAL QUALITIES AND MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE....PUNISHMENT OF A CRIMINAL.....BENNELONG, A NEW HOLLANDER CHIEF.....SINGULAR CUSTOMS,.... FAMILIES.....MARRIAGES.....CURADGIES.

IF such be the general character of the convicts, and in part of the settlers, that of the natives is equally unpromising, and if the settlement of New South Wales be ever fated to attain distinction as a civilized country, it must be by means very different from those of the civilization of the natives, or the example set them by our countrymen, the convicts.

These aboriginal inhabitants of this distant region are indeed beyond comparison the most barbarous on the surface of the globe. The residence of Europeans has here been wholly ineffectual, the natives are still in the same state as at our first settlement. Every day are men and women to be seen in the streets of Sydney and Paramatta, naked as in the moment of their birth. In vain have the more humane of the officers of the colony endeavoured to improve their condition: they still persist in the ejnoyment of their ease and liberty in their own way, and turn a deaf ear to any advice upon this subject.

Is this to be imputed to a greater portion of natural stupidity than usually falls to the lot even of savages? By no means: if an accurate observation, and a quick perception of the ridiculous, be admitted as a proof of natural talents, the natives of New South Wales are by no means deficient. Their mimicking of the oddities, dress, walk, gait, and looks, of all the Europeans whom they have seen from the time of governor Phillips downwards, is so exact, as to be a kind of historic register of their several actions and characters. Governor Phillips and colonel Gross they imitate to the life. And to this day, if there be any thing peculiar in any of our countrymen, officers in the corps, or even of the convicts, any cast of the eye or hobble in the gait, any trip, or strut, stammering or thick speaking, they catch it in the moment, and represent it in a manner which renders it impossible not to recognise the original. They are moreover great proficients in the language, and Newgate slang, of the convicts, and in case of any quarrel are by no means unequal to them in the exchange of abuse.

But this is the sum total of their acquisitions from European intercourse. In every other respect they appear incapable of any improvement or even change. They are still as unprotected as ever against the inclemencies of weather, and the vicissitudes of plenty and absolute famine, the natural evils of a savage life. In their persons they are meagre to a proverb, their skins are scarified in every part with shells, and their faces besmeared with shell-lime and red gum: their hair is matted with a moss, and what they call, orna-

mented, with sharks' teeth; and a piece of wood, like a skewer, is fixed in the cartilages of the nose. In a word, they compose altogether the most loathsome and disgusting tribe on the surface of the globe.

Their principal subsistence is drawn from the sea and rivers, the grand storehouse of nature in all the lands, and islands of the Pacific, and were it not for this plenteous magazine, the natives of these lands must have long ceased to exist. From this cause it is reasonable to infer that the sea coast is much better inhabited than the interior. When a dead whale is cast on shore, they live sumptuously, flocking to it in great numbers, and seldom leaving it till the bones are well picked. Their substitute for bread is a species of root, something resembling the fern; it is roasted and pounded between two stones, and being thus mixed with fish, &c. constitute the chief part of their food. They have oysters of an extraordinary size, three of them being sufficient for any ordinary man. The rocks are covered with others of a smaller size, and which may be had for the trouble of carriage, and the labour of knocking them off.

There are some of the natives, indeed, who have reaped some benefit from our settlement amongst them, having been induced by the manifest superiority of these European articles, to adopt our fishing hooks, and other tackle for this purpose. Most of the natives in the immediate neighbourhood of Sydney are provided with these implements of their means of subsistence, which they either receive gratis, or purchase by the barter of fish and oysters. There are but rare in-

stances of their settling to any of our employments. Indeed now and then, when the humour takes them, they will occasionally assist in hauling the fishing seine or pulling the boats up and down the harbour; but as to agriculture, or any trade, they appear as incapable of skill and application as the beasts of the fields.

They are by no means deficient in personal courage; in their pitched battles of one part of the country against the other, or one individual against the other, they display the most determined bravery on the occasion. They defend themselves against the spears of their assailants by opposing only a shield of thick bark; previous to their onset they join in a kind of song, and gradually increase their noise till they work themselves up into a frantic fury, their countenances being in the mean time convulsed, and every feature of their face expressive of the fury of their mind. The causes of their quarrels appear to rise from jealousy of their women, and one mode of retaliation is seizing on and ravishing them; the quarrel is at first confined to two individuals, but afterwards becomes more general. Never was more determined bravery displayed than by these people. Their spears are thrown with such force as to pierce their shields through and through; but though they must suffer the greatest pain in the extraction of these weapons, such is their patience, or rather their absolute want of feeling, that they bear it unmoved, and never, or very rarely, fly from the field of battle.

Of one instance of flight I was, indeed, myself a spectator; this was in a man condemned for

some crime or other to exemplary punishment. A certain number of his comrades, about fourteen, were selected to inflict it, and arranged themselves around him in the form of a crescent, the poor fellow being allowed to defend himself from their spears with his bark shield in the best manner he was able. They began, as savages usually do, with throwing their spears in every direction with the greatest impetuosity: The poor fellow parried them off most wonderfully, and had they been ranged in a right line before him, would have escaped most of them, but being ranged around him, he received many a grievous wound, and at last took to his heels flying into the town of Sydney, where he fell down and expired. There is another custom among them, when a person is killed, either by a pitched battle, or by an unlucky blow in a hasty quarrel, that the survivor is obliged to stand on his defence from a certain number of spears to be thrown by the relatives of the deceased. If he survives, the matter ends, but if he should be killed, his antagonist goes through the same ordeal.

The quickness of their eye and ear is equally singular; they can hear and distinguish objects, which would escape an European. This circumstance renders them very acceptable guides to our sportsmen in the woods, as they never fail to point out the game, before any European can discover it. They are in general most accomplished marksmen; I have seen them bring down a bird not larger than a pigeon at the distance of thirty yards.

They sleep beneath the canopy of heaven for their covering, or under some hut as little shelter-

ed from the rudeness of the wintry blast. In wet weather they retreat to the caverns in the rocks, and remain there, having lighted fires at the mouth, till the tempest is dispelled. They are said to be terribly afraid of visions and apparitions. Their canoes, composed of the bark of trees tied together in small splinters, are the most miserable that it is possible to conceive; they are usually half full of water, and nothing but the natural buoyancy of the materials could prevent them a minute from sinking. In this crazy craft a whole family may frequently be seen fishing; a fire of embers is usually in the midst of the vessel, and the fish they catch is thus dressed, or rather half warmed, in the same instant in which it is caught.

Since the European settlements of the colony, they have, indeed, become bolder in their efforts for subsistence, and the outsettlers not unfrequently suffer much from their depredations. Theft is easier, that is to say, requires less labour and less patience, than fishing; and, if we may judge from their practice, potatoes and Indian corn are more to their taste than their ordinary pittance. There is fortunately one political advantage to the government arising from this scantiness of food amongst the natives, the convicts have thus no temptation to desertion. Some of them have had the folly to try the experiment, but becoming sensible of their error by its fatal effects, have almost immediately returned, and surrendered themselves to their former slavery. If through terror of the punishment of their desertion some few have delayed to return, they have

invariably either perished with hunger, or been murdered by the natives.

Upon the first settlement of the colony, all intercourse was much impeded by their jealousy of their new visitors. It was not without many friendly advances, and some artifice, that the governor could in any degree appease them, or induce them to venture among the settlers. One of their chiefs, Bennelong, a warrior of great repute, it is said, was caught by a very singular expedient: having taken a liking to a sailor's jacket, it was offered to him without hesitation, and a sailor ordered to assist him in putting it on; the fellow obeyed, and by putting the back of the jacket in front, contrived to hamper the arms, and thus effectually secure the sturdy savage.

It is one thing however to catch, and another to civilize, a native of New South Wales. In vain did the governor lavish on him every attention, and every friendly office, clothing and feasting him daily; all his care was thrown away, for he made several attempts to regain his liberty, but without effect. This man accompanied the governor to England, and was there exhibited as a specimen of the natives of New Holland, and treated with that favour and distinction which the good humour, perhaps the folly, of the fashionable world, lavish indiscriminately upon every novelty.

I heard another ridiculous anecdote, but the truth of which I will not too absolutely assert, though the ignorance of the natives renders it not incredible. Some fish belonging to the sailors of a ship in the harbour being boiling in a camp-

kettle over the fire on shore, some of the natives observed them with a look of desire, and watching their opportunity, slily put in their hands to take one out, and being thus as it were caught in a trap, betook themselves to flight, with looks of equal terror and astonishment, and roaring like so many wounded bulls. I can the more readily believe this, as I know from my own experience that except in their mimicry they can scarcely connect two ideas together.

Whilst Bennelong, the Botany Bay chief, was in England, he was presented to many of the principal nobility and first families of the kingdom, and received from many of them presents of clothes and other articles, which a savage of any other country would have deemed almost inestimable. It was not so, however, with Bennelong; he was no sooner re-landed in his own country, than he forgot, or at least laid aside, all the ornaments and improvements he had reaped from his travels, and returned, as if with increased relish, to all his former loathsome and savage habits. His clothes were thrown away as burthensome restraints on the freedom of his limbs, and he became again as complete a New Hollander, as if he had never left his native wilds. Indeed the same observation holds good with respect to the rest of his countrymen, for although they are continually craving for clothes, it is but seldom, very seldom, they appear in them a second time.

It must not indeed be denied, that Bennelong is somewhat advanced beyond his countrymen in European acquisitions, for he can occasionally converse with ease and even interest. The names

of lady Sydney, and lady Jane Dundas, are often in his mouth, and he appears justly grateful for the favours received from these his fair patronesses. It is not unpleasing to listen to his relations of the wonders seen by him during his abode in England. One incident in particular he relates with all the satisfaction of a favourite story: that of being at the house of a very respectable gentleman, and surrounded with numberless visitors of curiosity, an old gentleman, unmoved amidst the general eagerness, took no further notice of him than bestowing on him a single glance; and then helped himself bountifully to a pinch of snuff, and requested the company to pass the bottle, which for some time had been quite neglected. This apathy, and inflexible gravity, seems to have made more impression on the mind of Bennelong than all the wonders and glitters of dress that he had seen that evening; and from the pleasure he takes in relating this incident; he no doubt considers the old gentleman as one of the wisest men in the company, or perhaps in England.

The curiosity always attached to the character of a new people, will be admitted as an excuse for the introduction of Bennelong; as this chief, as I have before mentioned, is his countrymen in epitome. He is so addicted to drinking that he would scarcely ever be sober could he obtain spirits, and whenever he is intoxicated is intolerably mischievous. On the return of his sobriety he repents, but his repentance has scarcely procured his forgiveness, before the repetition of his offence again exhausts all patience. He is in truth a savage beyond all hopes of amelioration by any

possible mode of culture, and was at the time of our sailing *sent to Coventry* as incorrigibly incurable.

A gentleman of great humanity made the trial of cultivating a young native boy and girl, beginning with them from their infancy, justly thinking that this early commencement gave the best promise of success.

They were accordingly strictly and anxiously attended, and supplied with food, clothes, and every thing either necessary to their comfort, or to the forming them to European habits; no sooner, however, upon their advanced age, were they restored to their free choice, and liberty of action, than throwing aside all their European improvements, and rejecting with disdain all the habits of civilized life, they returned to their countrymen, and preferred even the famine of a savage life to all the plenty and comparative luxury of a civil society. Numberless are the other examples of the same kind; indeed so many, as almost to induce a conclusion that a New Hollander is physically incapable of civilization. Their wild and roving nature will not admit them to settle to any thing, or any place; a life of hunting and fishing, changing their place according to their caprice, or the dearth or plenty of their food, can only gratify their inordinate love of variety.

The very same unsocial propensity, unfortunate as it impedes their progress to civilization, exists amongst all the natives of the South Seas; whether being rooted by long and early habit, or that it is considered as a point of honour, and a proof of courage, not to desert their natural soil.

But, different even from the most savage people of these seas, the natives of New South Wales appear to want the smallest portion of natural modesty; clothes are almost daily given to some or other of them, yet may they be daily seen naked in the streets of Sydney and Paramatta. To me, indeed, they appeared altogether the most stupid and insensible race of men I had ever seen.

They are wholly without any form of government, or any family, or individual, whom they acknowledge as their king, or chief. If there exists any superiority, it is that of personal strength or courage, and the only distinction they procure their possessor, is that of being more frequently summoned to assist in avenging the real or fancied injuries of his friends and neighbours. Their only divisions, as a people, are into families which frequent or inhabit particular places, and are thus distinguished by the names of those places; thus the families living at Botany Bay are collectively called Widgal, those at Rose Bay, Cardagal, at Broken Bay, Camera Gal, and near Paramatta, Wan Gale. Colbe, one of their most reputed warriors, was a Wae Gal, and Bennelong, a Wan Gal.

They sometimes marry into other families, but seem to consider this union as unlawful between relations nearer than first cousins. They observe no particular ceremony in their marriages, though their mode of courtship is not without its singularity. When a young man sees a female to his fancy, he informs her she must accompany him home; the lady refuses, he not only enforces compliance with threats but blows: thus the gallant,

according to the custom, never fails to gain the victory, and bears off the willing, though struggling pugilist. The colonists for some time entertained the idea that the women were compelled, and forced away against their inclinations; but the young ladies informed them, that this mode of gallantry was the custom, and perfectly to their taste.

The women appear to attach themselves faithfully to their husbands thus chosen: they are exceeding jealous of them, and it must be confessed not without just cause. From this source indeed flow the greater part of their quarrels; which usually commence with two or three individuals, and thence extend themselves to families, and the neighbouring tribes. In these instances, as before observed, their battles are furious beyond description, and seldom terminate but in the death of many of the combatants; they cast and ward off their spears with uncommon dexterity, and when in close quarter wield their massy clubs with the most determined courage. As they possess no other property, the women are at once the cause of the war, and the spoil of the victory. The injury to the women, however, usually terminates in a violence on their persons, which by a female native of Botany Bay, is not perhaps considered as a very serious evil.

Parturition seems here excepted from the general curse: the women on these occasions are seldom attended by any but their husbands, who assist her with a little water, and when nature has brought forth the child into the world, an office she performs with little difficulty, or suffering to

the patient, in a few hours after their delivery they return to the performance of their domestic duties. The child is laid in a basket, on a bed composed of the bark of the tea-tree, and nursed with an anxious affection, very creditable to these savages. From their hard and scanty manner of living it is computed that little more than one out of four even arrive to the age of three years, a circumstance which accounts for the thinness of the population. The infant no sooner begins to use his limbs than he is instructed in throwing the spear; a bulrush, or other reed, being put into his hand for this purpose. Whilst the female child is in its infancy, they deprive it of the two first joints of the little finger of the right hand; the operation being effected by obstructing the circulation by means of a tight ligature: the dismembered part is thrown into the sea, that the child may be hereafter fortunate in fishing. They have also a custom of extracting from the male children about the age of puberty one of their front teeth: this operation is performed very simply by their curradgies or wisemen, by knocking it out with a stone. This ceremony takes place every third or fourth year; the youths of several adjacent districts assemble with their friends, and have a feast and dance upon the occasion. It is considered a good promise of the boy's courage, to exhibit an unshaken fortitude on this trial, and being their initiation in manhood, they are from this period allowed to fight their enemies and hunt the kangaroo. I have seen a dozen of them inflicting a supposed punishment upon one of their number; the little fellows were equally as ambitious as the bravest warriors in the

country could be to exhibit their heroism; and the party punished defended himself with the most determined courage, returning the spear of his assailants with double interest, for he was generally a picked hand.

But notwithstanding their natural courage, they stand in great awe of our fire-arms, a circumstance of very considerable consequence to the out settlers, as it checks the inroads they might otherwise be disposed to make, and which in a country like Botany Bay, and detached as these settlers are, it would be no easy matter to repel.

The curradgies are very old men, and in high esteem amongst this people: they cure their diseases, give their advice in matters of consequence, and are resorted to as umpires in their quarrels. They pretend to have the gift of prescience, and to hold communication with the spirits of their deceased friends. Some families pretend to the inheritance of this gift of prophecy, but they gain no credit till advanced in years. If it is necessary in England that a witch should be an old woman, it is as necessary in Botany Bay that a curradgie should be an old man.

CHAP. VI.

DEPARTURE FROM PORT JACKSON....NORFOLK ISLAND....BEAUTY AND FERTILITY OF THE COUNTRY....THE GOVERNOR'S ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY....PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

THE markets continuing to become daily more and more glutted by fresh arrivals from all quarters, and amongst other unlucky circumstances an investment of government, to the amount of eleven or twelve thousand pounds, selling off at twenty-five per cent. upon the prime cost, rendered every thing completely at a stand, for if sales were dull before, they were now altogether stagnant. There was absolutely no money in circulation, as government received grain in payment for the goods issued from their investment.

In these circumstances, and having before sent a small adventure to Norfolk Island, and thence learning that there was some money in that settlement, I resolved to give it a trial in person, and collect the proceeds of my former adventure.

Here I was politely and hospitably received, but found that the government had again anticipated me, having already sent a part of their large investment for the use of this island, and disposing of it at the same under-rate of twenty-five per cent. upon the prime cost.

Upon my first arrival here, I was much delighted with the luxuriant appearance of this little

spot, the whole face of the country being clothed with a deep green verdure, presenting a scene of the most exuberant fertility. The circumference of the island is little more than fifteen miles, and considering this narrow extent it is equal to any country I have ever visited. I might venture even to add, that there are few, very few, which will bear any comparison with it. To speak without any exaggeration, the greater part of the country is but one uninterrupted hot-bed; for with the sole exception of the edges of the mountains which overhang the sea, it would be difficult to find any one spot less fertile than another.

This island was colonized by governor Phillips, shortly after that of Port Jackson; the number committed to his charge being greater than he could easily support, he divided the refractory body into two parts, and sent the smaller and more profligate division to Norfolk Island. It has henceforth been adopted as the ordinary practice, that the more abandoned of the convicts, and such as have fallen under the sentence of the law a second time, should be transported to this island, a punishment which the narrow compass of the island renders much dreaded. This, however, is the only circumstance which could render it so, for as regarded in every other point of view, beauty of the country and fertility of the soil, it is infinitely superior to Port Jackson.

One very powerful circumstance which rendered this settlement a favourite with governor Phillips, is said to have been the general belief that the flax plant was a native of Norfolk Island; an advantage which would have been inestimable had

experience verified the report. In the point of climate the situation of this island is delightful and salubrious; the latitude is twenty-nine degrees, and therefore the general state of the weather is seldom in extremes, neither intolerably hot, nor excessively cold. Without the aid of any manure the soil yields two harvests in the same year: the first is of wheat, which being sown in April, or the beginning of May, is usually reaped in October; the ground is then again turned up afresh and planted with maize, which is ready for pulling against the next wheat seed time. I was moreover informed, that many of the farmers have practised this course of crops for a long series of years, and without having experienced any diminution in the productive powers of the land. Indeed so inexhaustible, even by the united efforts of avarice and ignorance, is this fertility, that the greatest labour of the farmer is to suppress the weeds, the luxuriance of which is a most fatal foe to these Sicilian harvests.

It would be an injustice not to observe that the industry of these people in general is very far superior to that of the settlers of Port Jackson, a circumstance which may perhaps be imputed to the greater fertility of the soil, as the success of his labours has invariably been found a very powerful impulse to the husbandman. There is only one circumstance which effectually impedes the prosperity of these settlers, their propensity to intoxication, which amongst them is not the intoxication of an hour or a day, but is continued sometimes for a week together. Were it not for this imprudence, many of them might have long ere

this been in a situation of comfort and independance. But such foresight does not fall to their lot, and accordingly with all the fertility of their soil, and their double harvests, the greater part of them are in a state of poverty, and a poverty which no one can pity, as the consequence only of their folly and vice. This remark indeed is not so general as not to admit of exceptions, for there are examples of the contrary, but they are so few as only to confirm the rule.

Indeed, the most constant and arduous labour is necessary to the successful culture of the land, for if remitted but for a very short time, it is a subject of reasonable wonder to see the luxuriance of the weeds which menace to choak the harvest. During my residence amongst them, the governor exhibited in his own person a noble example of industry, and unceasing attention to the improvement of agriculture. And further to encourage industry, it was his policy to cause it to be considered as the sole means of favour; and the rewards of government (and even in this country government has its rewards, and power its influence) were distributed only amongst those, whose farms exhibited proofs of their industry, as those on the other hand were neglected and received with frowns, whose domains were those of Solomon's sluggard.

During the greater part of this gentleman's administration, he has been assiduously employed in bringing into cultivation for the purposes of government, extensive tracts of unoccupied land; as likewise in fencing in some low vallies, which by means of streams running through them have a

most superior herbage. These vallies are used as a kind of open folds for the hogs of the settlement. Being allowed a daily portion of maize, these animals fatten in a very short time, and the governor of Norfolk Island has thus been enabled to supply Port Jackson with animal food, at a time when they were very much put to it for that article.

The ordinary price of pork in this island is six pence per pound dead, or four pence alive, but if the payment is made in spirits, it may be obtained for half that sum; for government very wisely having prohibited any distillation, the settlers will purchase spirits at almost any price. Wheat is eight shillings per bushel, maize four, Indian meal, five shillings, potatoes about six shillings and six pence, onions from eight to ten shillings per hundred weight, a fowl eighteen pence, and a goose from five to six shillings. The quantity of land hitherto granted by the crown to a settler is nearly as follows; twenty-five acres to a convict whose time is expired and allowed to settle, thirty to a private soldier, and fifty to a non-commissioned officer. These grants, however, are not made indiscriminately: they are given only to such as have recommended themselves by the sobriety and decorum of their general deportment, and are seldom obtained without the interest and recommendation of the superintending officers. Amongst the most respectable of these settlers, are some part of the crew of the Sirius, who, being shipwrecked on the island, and thence learning its fertility, preferred becoming settlers, to returning to their native country and former

occupations. Several marines who went out upon the first establishment had the same indulgence: the remainder are those of the more industrious and better behaved convicts.

The aloe grows in great quantities spontaneously in many parts of the island, and many of the smaller plantations are fenced round with sugar canes. It is indeed the policy of the government to encourage the cultivation of this plant, and it is accordingly encouraged by bounties, and the favour of the officers. A cow, equivalent in this part of the world to thirty pounds, is promised to the first settler who shall produce five hundred pounds of sugar from the native cane. This island moreover produces an article which we have before mentioned as much wanted at Port Jackson, limestone of a most excellent quality. The vessels from Port Jackson not unfrequently return thither with this as their ballast.

The island produces many species of trees, but the pine is the most abundant. Some of this species are of an unusual magnitude, and were their quality correspondent to their growth, they might be very valuable for our naval purposes. But the pine of the South Seas, and indeed of all the warmer climates, is of a very different nature to those of Europe; the pine of Norfolk Island is brittle, and therefore only fit for the purposes of building of household furniture, and other uses to which it is applied by the settlers.

The sea here, as in every other island of these seas, contributes much to the comfort of the inhabitants, for when the tranquillity of the weather permits the boats to venture beyond the reefs,

their labour seldom fails to be rewarded by a most plentiful draught of fish. The soldiers, when not on duty, frequently employ themselves in this way: the fish are in no place more plentiful than around the coast of this island.

Many of the whalers being at this time simply in want of refreshments, very justly preferred this island to Port Jackson, as the supply was not only more plentiful and cheap, but unincumbered with those formalities and delays so inconvenient to traders; indeed some of the commanders being previously informed of this circumstance, waved all intercourse with Port Jackson. The Americans by some means have come to the knowledge of this, and have passed Port Jackson, preferring refreshing at this island.

It was from the captain of a ship of that nation who happened to touch here, that we first learned that peace had been concluded between France and England, and in the same moment were informed of the glorious achievements of the British army in Egypt under the immortal Abercrombie, and his illustrious associates; which in this little spot, the remotest of the British dominions, was received with the most enthusiastic raptures: to convince us that this was no vague report, the captain produced a letter signed by admiral sir Roger Curtis, addressed to all commanders in his majesty's service, apprizing them of the circumstance.

CHAP. VII.

FAILURE OF THE NORTH-WEST SPECULATION....NEW RESOLUTION ADOPTED IN CONSEQUENCE.....MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT OF NORFOLK ISLAND....POPULATION....PHILLIP AND NEPEAN ISLANDS....INCONVENIENCES OF NORFOLK ISLAND....BLIGHT... DIFFICULTY OF ACCESS....INTENTION OF ABANDONING IT....SINGULAR INSTANCE OF A FUGITIVE...DEPARTURE FROM NORFOLK ISLAND.

THE pleasing intelligence mentioned in the conclusion of the last chapter, was followed by news of a very different nature, and which much more immediately concerned me. Two days afterwards I received a very unexpected letter from my companion, the captain of our vessel, that the north-west speculation had wholly failed, and he had in consequence returned to Port Jackson; that under these circumstances he had come to a resolution to try Bass's Straits, and endeavour there to make up a cargo of skins, as our licence from the East-India company compelled us to visit China.

To expedite this business, the captain added that he had engaged ten supernumerary hands, whom he should land on King's Island in those straits; together with an officer well versed in the sealing business, whilst the ships should proceed to the Society Islands, being in want of provisions, as none could be purchased at Port Jackson at any price. It was now therefore ne-

cessary for me to prepare for my departure from Norfolk Island, after a residence of ten months, a period which I did not pass very unpleasantly, all circumstances considered. If my account of this island is less full than the curiosity of a reader may wish, let it be remembered, that almost the whole of my time was occupied in business of a more immediate concern than minute inquiries upon this subject. I collected, however as much knowledge as my intercourse with every respectable member of the colony enabled me to do, and if I have said little of its natural history, the strata of its soil, and new species of plants, I have only to plead in my excuse, that I visited it as a trader, and not as a natural philosopher; besides, as the vessels returning to Port Jackson had brought things to a point, it was necessary to attend to matters of greater moment.

The military establishment whilst I resided in the island, consisted of a governor, with the local rank of lieutenant colonel, and a sufficient number of officers to constitute on occasion a court martial. The corps under their command was composed of nearly one hundred men. The military duty is very easy, being nothing more than occasionally to assist the police, by whose activity alone almost every thing is here conducted. Considering the characters they have to deal with, two out of three being the most profligate and abandoned of men, their vigilance and decision can never be too much praised, as were they to remit their efforts, there would soon be an end of the government of the colony.

The number of inhabitants in this island has been variously stated, but by what appeared to me from a similar calculation to what I had made at Port Jackson, I am inclined to fix the population at about one thousand. This number, however, includes the whole, men, women, and children; whether convicts, free settlers, or of the civil and military establishments.

Adjacent to Norfolk Island are two smaller islands, known by the name of Phillip and Nepean islands, the former about half the size of Norfolk Island, and situated about six or seven miles to the south of it; wholly uncultivated, but abundant in herbage: that it might be rendered as useful as possible to the government, several hogs were turned loose, in the expectation that, in the process of time, they would multiply so as to form a convenient stock. It does not however appear that the event of this first experiment justified this expectation. The public spirit of the governor was as yet unexhausted, whilst I was resident in Norfolk Island; for with the view of supplying Port Jackson, the demand of which is great, he was introducing a fresh stock of breeding sows, together with stock-keepers to attend the young, and Indian corn to bring them forward more speedily.

There was, however, one very serious impediment to this speculation of deriving any advantage from these islands. The passage from the one to the other, and from Norfolk Island to both of them, is attended with such constant danger, and insufferable difficulty through the greater part of the year, that it has proved the grave to many.

During my stay, short as it was, the surgeon of the island was drowned in his return from a visit to a ship in the bay, another officer at the same time was dragged almost lifeless to the shore, the boat dashed to pieces, and the greater part of the crew dreadfully maimed. Crossing the passage with a cargo of hogs, another boat was swallowed up, and with the exception of one man, the whole crew, to the number of eight, lost.

Nepean Island has evidently at some period of time been connected with Norfolk Island, from which it is at present scarcely a quarter of a mile distant. From every appearance I was led to conclude that it had been torn asunder by some violent convulsion of nature; a circumstance, which, if any credit be due to natural historians, has produced many islands, both in the European and more remote seas. Hither are sent those of the convicts, whose more abandoned profligacy might otherwise corrupt their less vicious brethren, and are here employed in boiling salt; being occasionally only visited by the boats.

The communication between the islands, as I have before mentioned, is at all times difficult; but when the weather sets in bad, it becomes wholly impracticable, and was it not that the town of Sydney is guarded by a reef, a natural barrier of invincible strength, the whole town and the low ground on which it is built would long ere this have been irrecoverably inundated. The surf on the reef not unfrequently raises itself considerably above the tops of the houses, but being opposed in its further advance by this natural

bulwark, the inhabitants behold its fury without terror.

This combination of unpleasant circumstances attending the intercourse of the islands, induced the governor to withdraw as many of the hogs as he could retake, and wholly abandon Phillip Island.

The reader will collect from the foregoing circumstances, that with all its advantages, Norfolk Island has inconveniences which must detract infinitely from its vulue. In the first place, since the country has been cleared, or in other words exposed, a strong wind from the eastward frequently brings a blight, the effect of which is not unfrequently the general destruction of the harvest. And what must ever oppose its progress to any importance as a remote colony, is the circumstance of its being so difficult of access; being almost wholly surrounded by a reef, and barricaded as it were against all approach by a heavy mountainous sea. From this concurrence of bad weather, and a very bad shore, his majesty's ship Sirius was here lost. It has indeed not unfrequently happened that ships from Port Jackson have been beating off and on, unable to advance, and unwilling to return, upwards of a month, and still as distant as ever from all possibility of communication with the shore. It was this circumstance of its difficulty of access, that occasioned the observation of a French navigator, who said that it was only fit to be inhabited by angels and eagles.

The want of an harbour, or roadstead for shipping, is much against it, as the bottom is covered with pointed fragments of sharp coral rock, which

renders anchorage impracticable. The public spirit of the government has not overlooked this unfortunate defect, but all attempts have been hitherto in vain to apply a remedy. They have hitherto directed their efforts to the removal of a part of the reef intervening between the sea and a bay on the other side, capable of receiving vessels of one hundred tons; but though they have attempted this project with unremitting earnestness, and expected to effect it by blowing it up, it has hitherto failed.

So invincible, and of such essential importance, is this obstacle considered, that in the failure of all attempts to remedy it, the colonists expect to be called upon to abandon the island, and remove themselves either to New Zealand, or some part of the main land of New Holland.

The captain having now landed his men in Bass's Straits, according to the resolution before mentioned, and being on his way to the Society Islands, called for me at Norfolk Island. I obeyed his summons, and again joined the Margaret.

I cannot, however, take my leave of Norfolk Island, without relating a singular instance of solitude, which happened in that island about eight years ago.

One of the prisoners belonging to the outgangs, being sent into camp on Saturday, to draw the weekly allowance of provisions for his mess, fell unfortunately into the company of a party of convicts, who were playing cards for their allowance, a thing very frequent amongst them. With as little resolution as his superiors

in similar situations, after being a while a looker-on, he at length suffered himself to be persuaded to take a hand; and in the event, lost not only his own portion, but that of the whole mess. Being a man of a timid nature, his misfortune overcame his reason, and conceiving his situation amongst his messmates insupportable, he formed and executed the extravagant resolution of absconding into the glens.

Every possible inquiry was now made after him; it was known that he had drawn the allowance of his mess, and almost in the same moment discovered that he had lost it at play; search upon search however was made to no purpose. However, as it was impossible that he could subsist without occasionally marauding, it was believed that he must shortly be taken in his predatory excursions. These expectations, however, were in vain, for the fellow managed his business with such dexterity, keeping closely within his retreat during the day, and marauding for his subsistence only by night, that in despite of the narrow compass of the island, he eluded all search. His nocturnal depredations were solely confined to the supply of his necessities; Indian corn, potatoes, pumpkins, and melons. He seldom visited the same place a second time; but shifting from place to place, always contrived to make his escape before the theft was scarcely discovered, or the depredator suspected. In vain was a reward offered for his apprehension, and year after year every possible search instituted; at times it was considered that he was dead, till the revival of the old trade

proved that the dexterous and invisible thief still existed.

In the pursuit of him, his pursuers have often been so near him, that he has not unfrequently heard their wishes that they might be so fortunate as to fall in with him. The reward being promised in spirits, a temptation to which many would have sacrificed their brother, excited almost the whole island to join in the pursuit; and even those whose respectability set them above any pecuniary compensation, were animated with a desire of hunting in so extraordinary a chase. These circumstances concurred to aggravate the terror of the unhappy fugitive, as from his repeated depredations he indulged no hope of pardon.

Nothing of this kind, however, was intended; it was humanely thought that he had already sustained sufficient punishment for his original crime, and that his subsequent depredations, being solely confined to necessary food, were venial, and rendered him a subject rather of pity than of criminal infliction. Of these resolutions, however, he knew nothing, and therefore his terror continued.

Chance, however, at length accomplished what had baffled every fixed design. One morning about break of day, a man going to his labour observed a fellow hastily crossing the road; he was instantly struck with the idea that this must be the man, the object of such general pursuit. Animated with this belief, he exerted his utmost efforts to seize him, and, after a vigourous opposition on the part of the poor fugitive, finally succeeded in his design. It was to no purpose to as-

sure the affrighted wretch that his life was safe, and that his apprehension was only sought to relieve him from a life more suited to a beast than a human creature.

The news of this apprehension flew through the island, and every one was more curious than another to gain a sight of this phenomenon, who for upwards of five years had so effectually secluded himself from all human society. Upon being brought into the camp, and the presence of the governor, never did condemned malefactor feel more acutely; he appeared to imagine that the moment of his execution approached, and, trembling in every joint, seemed to turn his eyes in search of the executioner. His person was such as may well be conceived from his long seclusion from human society; his beard had never been shaved from the moment of his first disappearance; he was clothed in some rags he had picked up by the way in some of his nocturnal peregrinations, and even his own language was at first unutterable and unintelligible by him.

After some previous questions, as to what had induced him to form such a resolution, and by what means he had so long subsisted, the governor gave him his pardon, and restored him to society, of which he afterwards became a very useful member.

Upon relating this circumstance to the captain, he informed me of a similar instance which had fallen within his own observation, as he returned from his voyage to the north-west. In order to recruit his stock of fresh water, he had been compelled to stop at one of those solitary islands, with

which the surface of the South Sea is everywhere studded, and not one half of which, however fertile or beautiful, have any other inhabitants than the usual marine birds.

After the watering was completed, which occupied them two days, the boat was dispatched to another part of the island, abounding in the cocoa-nut and cabbage tree, articles of which they were equally in want. The party had no sooner landed, than scorning the ordinary method of gathering the fruit, they took the much shorter way of cutting down the trees. They were all in the usual spirits of men who touch at land after the long confinement of a sea voyage; a period of time, perhaps, in which the natural spirits reach their highest degree of elevation.

Their mirth however had not long continued when it was interrupted, and converted into terror, by a most hideous noise. The whole party were aghast with terror in the expectation that some land or sea monster, to which their horror gave a suitable form and magnitude, should rush amongst them. Some were for leaving the island, and betaking themselves to the boat; whilst others, with stouter courage, recommended silence, till they should listen more attentively.

The sound approached, exclaiming to them in horrid exclamations, and good English as they thought, to desist. The whole party were now panic-struck; they were now persuaded it could be nothing but a supernatural being warning them from his sacred domain, and that instant death, or some horrible punishment, would attend their disobedince. It must be confessed, indeed, that

an occurrence like this was too much for the courage of a party of English sailors, who are no less proverbially cowards in all encounters with spirits, than they are unassailable by any emotion in the presence of an enemy. A council of war was accordingly held upon the spot, and after some *pros* and *cons* it was finally agreed to stand by each other, and not take to their heels before the enemy appeared.

The spectre at length advanced, a savage in appearance; he addressed them in good English, reproaching them for their unprovoked trespass on his premises. The party were at length convinced that their monster was no other than a man; who, according to his own account, and conjectural reckoning, had been left on the island by a ship about four months preceding: the reader will readily conclude he had not received this punishment for his good behaviour. His beard had never been shaved since the first moment of his landing, and had he racked his invention to add to the horrror of his appearance, he could have made no addition. His raiment was all in rags, and his flesh as filthy as a miner who had never appeared above the surface of his mother-earth.

The first inquiry was of course how he came to be left on the island with every probability of perishing; a question to which he could return no very satisfactory answer. The next question was as to his mode of living, to which he replied somewhat more intelligibly, that the principal article of his subsistence was the cocoa-nut, fish, and land and sea crab; that one time he had the

good fortune to kill a wild hog, but for want of salt to preserve it, he could make it last but two days.

After some further intercourse, some of the party accompanied him to what he called his house, which was built in a particular shape, three posts being sunk into the ground, and inclined towards each other, so as to form a complete half of a regular bisected cone. The roof was doubly and trebly matted over with the leaves and smaller branches of the cocoa-nut tree, but the house altogether appeared more like a dog-kennel than a suitable abode for a human being. The household furniture indeed in every respect corresponded with the dwelling, consisting of a something which was perhaps once a trunk; a flock bed as dirty as if in the course of trade it had passed through all the cellars of Rag-fair; an axe, a pocket-knife, a butcher's steel, and four gun flints, In this situation, four hundred miles from any human being, and an almost immeasurable distance from his native country, this fellow seemed so contented with his condition, that he appeared to have no wish to depart; and the first proposal that he should accompany them to the ship seems to have proceeded from our men.

When the proposal was made to him, he paused for some time, and at length made a demand of wages, which, as expressive of his indifference, would doubtless have justified them in leaving him to his fate. At length, however, he suffered himself to be persuaded, but still seemed to consider the convenience mutual, or rather that we were the party obliged.

They could never procure from him any satisfactory account as to the cause of his being left on the island, but they never entertained any doubt but that it was no slight crime which could provoke his captain and comrades to such an exemplary punishment. Indeed his subsequent conduct was such as to justify this conjecture ; for instead of any gratitude to his deliverers, he was found to be such a mover of sedition amongst the ship's company, that for the preservation of good order in the ship, it was thought prudent to leave him at Port Jackson.

The captain found the above-mentioned island a place of reasonable refreshment, abundant in cocoa-nuts and cabbage-trees; a supply inestimable to them at this time, as they now had been upwards of four months without any vegetables whatever. The sea moreover was so abundant in fish, that they caught not only enough for the ship's crew at the time, but salted down a good quantity for a sea stock.

CHAP. VIII.

ARRIVAL AT OTAHEITE....A VISIT FROM THE CHIEFS AND MISSIONARIES....WELCOME RECEPTION....POMARRE....STAY AND OCCURRENCES AT OTAHEITE.

LEAVING Norfolk island with a fair wind, and, its usual attendants amongst sailors, high spirits, we made the small island of Maitia, situated about a degree to the eastward of Otaheite, the sovereignty of which it acknowledges. At sunset we were visited by three natives in a canoe, who amused us with their songs and dances: these men are considerably above the common standard of Europeans. Their courteous and seemingly artless behaviour impressed us with a very favourable opinion of the islanders of Maitia. They brought us presents of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and bananas; endeavouring to induce us to remain with them till the following morning, by the promise that we should then see others of their countrymen, and receive hogs, and every other refreshment which their island might produce. They doubtless conceived that such allurements as these were irresistible, and would induce us to prolong our stay; but upon the approach of night we continued our course. The natives were doubtless much disappointed, as they had expected to draw considerable advantages from a larger intercourse.

The produce of this island may be obtained at a much cheaper rate than the same articles in

Otaheite, the natives of Maitia being contented to receive in barter others of comparatively inferior value. This island is only about four miles in circumference, but the land is high enough to be seen at the distance of fourteen or fifteen leagues. The inhabitants are estimated at about one hundred and twenty.

Continuing our course during the night, with a moderate breeze, the trade-wind of the South Seas, we found ourselves by day-light under the island of Otaheite. The natives, having already discovered our vessel, were assembled in great numbers on the reefs which extend along the shore, viewing the ship as it passed along with the most attentive curiosity; the island exhibiting to us an appearance equally beautiful and picturesque. At half an hour past ten A. M. we came to an anchor in Matavi Bay, where we found his majesty's ship Porpoise, lieutenant Scot, collecting hogs for the colony at Port Jackson in New Holland. On the beach we perceived the wreck of his majesty's colonial brig Norfolk, which having been sent hither on a similar business about eight months before our arrival, had been unfortunately driven on shore, in a violent gale of wind.

As soon as the vessel was anchored, we were visited by the master of the Porpoise, who gave us an account of a very destructive war which for a considerable time had prevailed in the island, said to be excited by the oppressive and tyrannical government of the family of Pomarre. During this conversation some of the missionaries settled in Otaheite came off to congratulate us on

our arrival, with captain House, formerly commander of the Norfolk, and a landscape painter, sent hither from Botany Bay for the purpose of taking views and making drawings of objects in this island. These gentlemen confirmed the account of the war in the country, adding that the general dearth in consequence of its ravages, would render it impossible for us to procure any considerable supply of pork, which it was supposed was the object of our touching in the island. That it had not been without great difficulty, that enough had been obtained to supply the ship's company of the Porpoise. It must be confessed that, in the very commencement of our enterprize, this information was sufficiently discouraging.

The ship had not been long in this station when the king Otoo, with his consort Tetua, came along side in separate canoes, both dressed in the Teboota, appropriated for the use of the royal family, and other females of the first distinction. This part of dress is merely an oblong piece of cloth, having an opening in the middle, to be passed over the head, and hanging down before and behind, but open at the sides, allowing the wearer to move with great freedom. The queen had besides a piece of country cloth wrapped round her waist, and her hair dressed with a sort of bonnet made of the leaves of the cocoa-tree. She appeared to be about twenty-four years of age, with good features, and in size above the ordinary standard of British ladies: she was employed in the humble office of bailing the water out of her canoe. She and Otoo were cousins,

and her sister was married to Terenaveroa king of Tieraboo, Otoo's brother; following the patriarchal system in this respect, marrying their nearest relations. This lady at our first interview was somewhat reserved, but upon better acquaintance became more familiar. The king appeared in his Teaboota and Marra; this last being a narrow piece of cloth passing between the legs and round the middle with the ends folded inwards, pins being unknown in that part of the world: these two articles constitute a complete Otaheitan dress. He remained a long time in silent admiration, gazing at every thing he saw, with an air at once stupid and forbidding. The unusual stupidity of his look and manners at this his first interview, was doubtless the effect of an immoderate use of the Ava, a plant which produces an intoxication similar to that of the opium amongst the Turks. In our subsequent conversations we found him to be lively and entertaining, and fond of questioning us on such different subjects as might be supposed to interest a curious, and therefore intelligent, savage. Such were, In what direction lay Pretanee (their name for England) where Botany Bay, where the country of the Spaniards, where America, and Owhyhee; which seemed to be the chief foreign countries of which he had any knowledge: Whether in England there were many fine women; many *Tata poo puey* or men of the muskets, and whether muskets and gunpowder were in abundance in our country: the article of religion was not once touched upon, nor any inquiries whatever made relating to it.

From the confined circle of their ideas, it was impossible to give them any conception of the arts, the manufactures, the wealth, or resources and enjoyments of Europeans: besides, they are fully persuaded that their own is the first country on the face of the globe, although they set so high a value on many of the tools, instruments, and other useful articles of Europeans, as not unfrequently to seek them at the hazard of their lives. A variety of circumstances have combined to impress the minds of these people (whose information we must naturally suppose very limited) with an idea that their country is superior to every other: such as the late settlement of the British missionaries in Otaheite, the voyage of captain Bligh thither to procure the bread-fruit tree, and the frequent visits to their country by vessels of different nations.

The king being very desirous to obtain some of our Ava, that is, spirituous liquors, we gratified him with a small quantity in a cocoa-nut shell which was handed down to him in his canoe. On receiving the present he said aloud, *My ty te tata*, *My ty te pahie*, very good men, very good ship; and with this compliment in his mouth took his leave of us to pay a similar visit, and with a similar purpose, to the Porpoise. We afterwards learned that his majesty was somewhat too much addicted to the use of such liquors, and that he would go all lengths to procure them. His farther Pomarrie was not yet returned from the expedition against his enemies in another part of the island. It may be necessary here to observe, that by the laws of Otaheite the son, immediately on

his birth, succeeds to the dignity of his father, the father from that instant becoming only administrator for his child. Otoo, therefore, was king; and Pomarrie, his father, regent.

We found the report of the missionaries of the dearth prevailing in the island too true, for we had as yet been able to procure no fresh provisions, except a pig sent to us by one of the missionaries. Although the ship was surrounded with canoes, and our decks covered with natives, secretly encouraged to come on board by our seamen, notwithstanding positive orders to the contrary, there was not one pig brought for sale, and only a very small supply of other island provisions, owing to the war which had occasioned great devastation in the country.

About this time the king's mother Edeah appeared along side; in a canoe, attended by her favourite, a chief of the island Huaheine, a man of a most savage figure and manners. This lady had been for some years separated from her husband Pomarrie; but had not on this account suffered any diminution of power or respect in the country. These two personages came on board our ship with their characteristic frankness, and were treated by us with all possible attention, having learned from the gentlemen of the mission, that Edeah still enjoyed such influence in the state, that her favour might be essentially useful to us, as we had every thing to fear from her resentment. No pains therefore were spared to gain her good will; she and her favourite chief were conducted to the cabin, and there entertained with grog, tobacco, &c. &c. Several presents were

offered her, on which she seemed to set very little value; but expressed great eagerness to possess a *Pu puey*, or musket. (What a contrast of character between this lady and our fair country women!) This however we thought most prudent to withhold at present, as we were not as yet sufficiently acquainted with our company, nor with the state of matters on shore. This queen dowager and her paramour however continued to drink, and interchange tobacco, until it was nearly impossible for them to leave the ship, each seeming equally delighted with their entertainment. The attendant was so well pleased, that on taking leave he urged the writer of this narrative to accept him as a *T'ayo*, or intimate friend; a civility however he declined in the way least likely to give umbrage.

Towards the close of the day a number of young females resorted to the ship, dressed in a manner very suitable to their purpose, that of attracting admirers. Their complexion was olive, but with various shades of darkness. Their head-dress consisted of a neat little bonnet made from the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree split into small pieces; some of these were of a green, others yellow or straw-colour. Their hair was ornamented with white flowers resembling our lily, and highly scented with sandal wood perfume and cocoa-nut oil. Their drapery was composed chiefly of two pieces of cloth of the country fabric, one wrapped round the body, and another thrown gracefully over the shoulders and descending to the middle of the leg. Their feet were uncovered, agreeably to the universal custom of all ranks in the coun-

try. The colours and quality of their dresses were very various, probably to suit the taste of the wearers; but none of them wore the Tiaboota or Teboota. Many of these ladies rowed their own canoes, managing them with a skill equal to that of the men, who were in general dressed in the Marra and Tiaboota, but of a coarser stuff than those of the great personages we had before seen. Their countenance expressed much good nature and cheerfulness, and their deportment was affable and courteous. Some of the men wore their straight black hair flowing loose upon their shoulders, others again had it tied in a knot on the top of the head; in this differing from the women, whose hair was generally cut short behind. Their whole appearance was clean and comfortable.

Pomarrie, having by this time learned our arrival, hastened to welcome us to his country, doubtless in the hope of receiving his share of presents, as it had been reported that our cargo was of uncommon value. His approach with two canoes, was conducted with many formalities. When he came along side, he ordered his arrival to be announced in due form, and refused to come on board until we were all in readiness to receive him with due respect. On entering the ship, he presented to me a plantain leaf, the Otaheitan token of peace and friendship, and behaved on the whole with much affability, mingled with a certain feeling of his former dignified rank.

It has been before observed, that according to the singular custom of Otaheite, Pomarrie, formerly king, was now only regent, Otoo his son

being king; though the regal power, whatever it may be, was exercised by Pomarrie. This custom of the son disinheriting the father, is one of the most curious of the fundamental laws of the Otaheitan government. In a country more civilized, a more certain source of civil wars, a divided government, and of every crime which must arise from the opposition of ambition to natural duty, could not have been well contrived; but Otaheite is as yet the country of nature.

We cannot take our leave of this custom, without recommending to some future navigator to examine into the antiquity, and probable cause, of its origin; as it appears to us, and has before we believe appeared to others, that the very existence of such a singular custom is evidence of a very different state of the Otaheitans to that which they now present. Amongst customs, there are some which are those of nature, and are therefore common under different modes perhaps, but in substance still the same to all. There are others which derive their origin from more complex sources; such is that of which we now speak. Is its source to be sought in their religion, or their history?

We were too well acquainted with the advantages to be derived from the influence and favour of Pomarrie in the country, to neglect gratifying his wishes, as far as prudence and other circumstances allowed us.

The writer was particularly distinguished by Pomarrie, who embraced him in the country fashion, that is, by touching noses; after which, Pomarrie squeezed him gently all over the body,

and swaddled him up in a quantity of cloth, so that he could with difficulty move his limbs, being literally musket proof. Pomarrie informed him that this was the practice in his country in making a *Tayo* or friend, at the same time giving his own name to his newly adopted Tayo, whose name he took to himself in exchange. When these ceremonies were gone through, Pomarrie began to examine every object around him, often expressing his admiration with loud and energetic expressions of *my ty*, *my ty* (very good, very good.) He requested that we would pay him the compliment of firing a few guns, to shew the natives the respect we entertained for their regent, and late king. Our compliance with this request drew from him similar demonstrations of his satisfaction, and a proposal that some of his bravest warriors might be permitted to discharge the guns themselves, to shew us that they were not afraid of such formidable instruments of destruction.

Pomarrie was not less than six feet four inches in height, remarkably stout made, and well proportioned. His son Otoo is upwards of six feet two inches high, and equally well made. In the train of followers, was a dwarf only thirty-nine inches high, full grown, and duly proportioned in every respect, his age between three and four and twenty. At this time Pomarrie seemed to labour under a general debility, occasioned by the fatigues of the war, now brought to a termination; for which happy event the English missionaries in the island had this day celebrated a public thanksgiving; and in the evening one of their

number came on board our vessel, to exhort their countrymen on the occasion.

On the day following, we received another visit from the greater part of the royal family, so that it became now necessary to distribute our presents, in order to secure the good understanding already begun. Nothing was so acceptable to them as fire-arms, for they considered every thing else as useless trifles. We accordingly gave to Pomarrie a blunderbuss, with which he seemed to be much delighted; and to his son, the reigning king Otoo, who lay a little way off from the ship, in his canoe, we offered a musket. This distribution was not, however, relished by Otoo: being now a greater man than his father, he insisted on his right to the blunderbuss, and Pomarrie was compelled to content himself with the musket. All this in conformity to the customs of Otaheite. Matters being thus accommodated between these two chiefs, a fresh difficulty arose in making an acceptable present to the queen dowager Edeah. Whatever was offered to her, cloth, looking-glasses, scissars, even axes, she rejected with disdain, making us understand that she was as capable as any man in the country of making use of fire-arms. We had indeed been informed by the missionaries, that she was not less expert as a warrior than as a politician; and that her resentment was much more to be dreaded, than that of her late husband Pomarrie. We therefore explained, that the articles we had presented to her, were such as would have been eagerly preferred by our fair countrywomen, and concluded by giving her a musket. With this

she was perfectly satisfied, and left the ship in great good humour: for it must be acknowledged, that if the anger or resentment of this people be easily excited, they are but of short duration. We were truly happy to arrange matters in this amicable way with this Otaheitan Semiramis, who was as tenacious of her privileges as the proudest beauty in Christendom: it was moreover evident, that every member of the royal family, notwithstanding their consanguinity, was governed by separate and personal interests.

Pomarrie's visit being what he called one of friendship to his Tayo, he desired to be accommodated with a bed, as well for himself as for a supplementary wife, who attended him in the double capacity of mistress and servant. It was his practice to be fed by this lady, or some other trusty attendant, when in company with strangers; as, according to the customs of Otaheite, he would have disgraced himself by carrying his hand to his mouth. We found however, afterwards, that on shore he was not so scrupulous on this point of etiquette. During the afternoon, that he might see how much I considered myself honoured by becoming his Tayo, I showed him all possible attention, and in person waited on him as his servant. His questions were as numerous, and for the most part as insignificant, as usual; some of them argued a great strength of mind, and a more warlike propensity. He inquired repeatedly, if any of us were acquainted with the art of making gunpowder; and as he had learned from the mutineers of the Bounty, that it was a composition, and not the farina of a vege-

table as supposed by other savages, he demanded its component parts, and whether they might not be found in the soil of Otaheite: Was my royal master a larger man than him, had he a comely countenance, was his dress elegant, and sundry other particulars, respecting her majesty, and the ladies of rank in our country; and whether our armourer could make muskets, and how I liked Otaheite. Such was the curiosity of Pomarrie, and his female attendant, that the whole afternoon was employed in minutely examining every object around them. They were particularly struck with the sight of two American negroes in our ship's company, both of whom were of a complexion uncommonly dark, and had short woolly hair. The Otaheitans seemed to think the deep colour of the skin was produced by painting, as they at different times tried to rub it off.

The Otaheitans, in common with other savages, are passionately attached to music; every feature of their face, and member of the body, bear testimony to its impression, and are no inconsiderable arguments of their sensibility and social affection. The music of the country is not more perfect than that of the other southern islanders, consisting only of four notes, and these not the most harmonious of the gamut. Their intercourse with Europeans has much improved their natural taste; but they still prefer that of our musical instruments, which most nearly approaches the Otaheitan flute. The Scotch bagpipe animates them to rapture, they are never weary of listening to its dissonance.

It was this music that Pomarrie now request-

ed, expressing his wish by the intelligible mimicry of the motion of his elbows, and the breathing of his nostrils. Taptain Toote (captain Cooke) as he said, had often entertained them with this instrument.

It was not in our power to gratify Pomarrie; but one of the blacks struck up a tune on the violin, while the other, a native of Brazil, with a Spaniard on board, performed the fandango. This with songs, reels, and country dances, from other's of the ship's company, entertained our guests for the evening, in a way seemingly much to their taste; and in the morning Pomarrie took a very affectionate leave, and returned to the shore. Some time afterwards he sent us a present of a couple of hogs, with bread-fruit, cocoanuts, bananas, &c. and repeated the same civility at different times; by which, however, in consequence of the returns on our part, he was by no means a loser. Without this sort of intercourse, we should have been sometimes in difficulty for supplies; as, though the vessel was surrounded with canoes, but very few hogs were brought off.

As the success of our voyage depended in a great measure on the exertions of our armourer, the first confusion of our arrival and bustle of visiting was no sooner over, and the intrusion of the inhabitants become less frequent, than a forge was set up, and the armourer made to commence his work. Their wants were innumerable, and what with repairing their tools, making new handles to their axes, and new axes to their handles, we should have found occupation enough, though

our stay had been protracted to twice its actual length. But our own business required nearly the whole of our time; and though we did not refuse to become their Tayos, we had learned in Europe, as well as our Tayos in Otaheite, that charity begins at home.

It is indeed no easy matter to withstand the smooth insinuating manner of the natives, particularly when it is considered that strangers are so deeply interested in preserving a general good understanding, and that this can be done only by a perpetual round of trifling favours and services. This had been practised by other navigators before our arrival; and once begun, must be continued by all who shall follow them. However well this might suit ships on astronomical pursuits, or voyages of discovery, it by no means corresponded with our more commercial views; we were therefore compelled to adopt some measures to rid ourselves of this incessant interruption. It was accordingly settled, that when the natives should repeat their importunities, they should be regularly referred to the armourer alone. This man had been bred a blacksmith at Stockton, had afterwards served some campaigns in the army as a farrier, and in other respects was well qualified to treat with the natives. They accordingly assaulted him with all the blandishment, and natural endearment, which to minds of benevolence is the most resistless kind of flattery. It was a matter of astonishment to many of us, that the fellow could maintain his purpose. He had one answer, however, for all; that his fire-gun, as they called his bellows, could do nothing,

until certain dues were paid; and these, being rather heavy, ridded him gradually of his customers. It was in vain that they made him their Tayo, enveloping him in cloth, and affecting jealousy at his preference of each other; the fellow was inexorable, and as deaf as his fire-gun. Finding themselves thus disappointed, they now changed their language, calling him *ahow tata*, *ahow tata*, "very bad fellow, very bad fellow," words they had picked up from former English visitors.

With the rest of the ship's company, however, the natives had much more success, as each man had his friend or Tayo, who paid his court so assiduously and insinuatingly, as to leave the poor fellows scarcely a rag to wear. On continuing the voyage, almost the whole of our crew were thus obliged to be completely cothed anew; some of them to content themselves with the cloth of Otaheite. Although the armourer, as it had been concerted, could seldom agree in terms with the natives, I occasionally interceded for them, and by these means retained their favour and good will to the last. Having discovered the grindstone, they laid close siege to it, and were continually employing it to sharpen their tools and instruments; and would soon have reduced it to a skeleton, the top and sides being continually at work, had not positive orders been given that no person should touch it without special permission. Having by these and similar means introduced something like a regular system into our intercourse with the natives, matters proceeded more smoothly; the principal people sending us off

bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, fish, &c. and we making the best return in our power by having them frequently on board to dine with us.

At this time I had the charge of the ship, whilst the captain was employed on shore in superintending the salting of provisions, and other necessary business. It so happened that for one hog procured by him, five were obtained, and at a cheaper rate, on board the ship; the natives being generally the dupes of their own eagerness for gain, and concluding that they were sure to make the most advantageous bargains when they trafficed with the people in the vessel.

One day we had Edeah and her favourite chief to dine on board; not that they cared for our food dressed after our own manner, but because they knew that unless they ate with us, they could hope for none of our ava and tobacco, for which they both ardently longed. That we might not appear to be *perre perre*, niggardly and stingy, qualities they very artfully affect to abhor, they were suffered to indulge to their fullest wishes. After a very short interval they renewed their calls for more; this was set before them, but the division of it had nearly occasioned a very serious quarrel between the lady and her attendant, who started up from table, and with the most savage fury swore in their country language he would put an end to her existence for having, as he said, taken to herself a little more than her due share.

The effects of the liquor on the two guests were very different; for while the man became mad and furious, the poor queen dowager appear-

ed silly and childish. She burst into tears and trembled with fear, as her companion grew outrageous and desperate. Just at this time Pomarrie came on board to have some work done at our forge, and hearing the noise below, was touched with compassion for Edeah his former consort; but unwilling personally to interfere, he beckoned to me to go down and endeavour to arrange matters, without his appearing to know any thing of the business. This was done; but it was only by a promise of a little more spirits on condition that peace should be restored, that the fury of the savage could be restrained from breaking out in some desperate act. Poor Edeah however still affirmed that he would take some other opportunity to reproach her for the imaginary offence. The glass again went round to the great satisfaction of our company, and we at length succeeded in getting the lady and her companion out of the ship; for which Pomarrie afterwards repeatedly expressed his gratitude. We were happy to be relieved from this party on another account: in visits of this sort, the ship was literally covered with natives in their train, prying into every corner, eyeing us through the windows and skylight, and frequently intruding into the cabin, with the most troublesome curiosity. Edeah either entirely forgot what passed on this occasion, or perhaps was ashamed of it, as she never afterwards took the least notice of the business. All the members of this family were indeed extremely eager to obtain spirits; and, with the exception of Pomarrie, all equally outrageous and brutal when intoxicated. Pomarrie had a brother much

younger than himself, who was in the habit of treating his wife, even before us, with the utmost contempt; but even on those occasions always refrained from blows. Excepting in these two instances, the women appeared to be treated with as much kindness as in more polished countries; and even those instances were rather occasioned by the excess in drinking, than by the natural dispositions of the people. This man was greatly emaciated by the constant use of the ava or yava root; his understanding seemed also to have suffered from this practice. His skin was covered with scales, his eyes were sunk in his head, and his general appearance indicated speedy dissolution. This ava or yava is a root of a hot intoxicating quality, which soon benumbs the senses; the preparation of it is extremely offensive; the root is well cleaned, and being split into small pieces, and well masticated by some of the chief's attendants, on whose sobriety dependance can be placed, the liquor is discharged into a wooden dish, and mixed up by the finger with a due proportion of the milk of the cocoa-nut or water, to adapt it to the palate. The compound is next strained through a number of cocoa-nut fibres, and served up in a small bowl of cocoa leaves, holding from a quarter to half a pint. This precious beverage is then considered as a peculiarly delicious treat for the royal family, and the great chiefs of the country. We saw fragments of this root, which is carefully cultivated, and almost the only one that is so, upwards of forty pounds; and, in spite of the nauseating process of its preparation, some of our sailors absolutely

drank of the juice with as much eagerness as any native of the island. This luxury however they could only procure in small portions, from those who considered them as very particular friends.

From their extreme desire to procure spirituous liquors, and other intoxicating substances, and the dreadful effects they produce on them, the introduction of liquors by Europeans, or an acquaintance with the art of distilling, would infallibly be the destruction of the country. The importers and distributers of such pernicious articles would, unless protected by a military force, speedily become the victims of their own imprudence, and of the avidity of the inhabitants for obtaining the *ava Britannee*, a general name they employ for all sorts of European spirits. As a proof of this destructive passion it may be here mentioned, that the benevolence of some of their European visitors having planted the vine in Otaheite, and explained in part its future utility if allowed to remain unmolested, the avidity of the natives broke through all restraint, and the grapes were plucked off before they were ripe. Not relishing the fruit equally with their own ava, they foolishly imagined that the spirit was in the root, and endeavoured to extract it by a similar mastication. Finding their efforts useless, they revenged their disappointment by treading it under foot.

The effects of their inebriety were really horrible. Otoo the young king was so furious in his fits of inebriety, that I am persuaded he would make no scruple of killing his subjects, out of mere ferocity. The indisposition contracted by

Pomarrie during the campaign, appeared daily to encrease, so as to excite in him alarms for his safety. As a last resource he instructed the missionaries to request of us the favour that two guns might be fired from the ship; to appease, as he said, the anger of his God, by whom his illness was doubtless inflicted in punishment of some offence. With this singular request we readily complied (but doubted very much its efficacy) not only to gratify Pomarrie, but to oblige the gentlemen of the mission, lest they should have appeared remiss in their application to, or not be held by us in that estimation which was requisite to impress a favourable notion of them on the minds of the natives. This was not the sole occasion in which the natives took advantage of our regard to the gentlemen of the mission, to obtain from us favours which they could not have expected by their own personal applications. Few days passed in which one request or another was not preferred to us through this channel; until at last an intercourse of this sort became equally embarrassing to the missionaries and ourselves. We cannot omit in this place to do justice to the amiable manners, and truly christian deportment of these men, who, like the apostles of old, foregoing all the comforts of civilized life, and a life at least of tranquillity in their native land, have performed a voyage equal to the circumnavigation of the globe, and, like the dove of the ark, carried the christian olive over the world of waters. Their life is a life of contest, hardship, and disappointment; like their holy Master, they have

to preach to the deaf, and exhibit their works to the blind.

During our short stay in this island I laboured assiduously to acquire some acquaintance with the language, and was assisted in my efforts by some natives whom I had taken on board, as our company was by no means strong. These natives were utterly ignorant of the English language, excepting the two words *yes* and *no*, which they so frequently misapplied, that, to carry on our commerce, we were compelled necessarily to exert ourselves to the utmost to gain some knowledge of the dialect of Otaheite. The natives on board, six in number, had heard such flattering accounts of the Sandwich Islands from some visitors from thence, that they were eager to go thither, and accordingly accompanied us on the voyage, a circumstance which furnished me with continual opportunities of making advances in their language.

It has already been mentioned that a ruinous war had lately prevailed in Otaheite. This, as far as we could learn by the Europeans resident on the island, had been occasioned by the unusual oppression of the several members of the royal family, and particularly by the son of Pomarrie, the young king Otoo, who, it was reported, set no bounds to his haughty domineering disposition. His administration has at all times given extreme offence to the inhabitants of the district of Attahooroo, who considered him only as an usurper, and were constantly disposed to resist his measures, and throw off his yoke: their district furnished a certain and secure refuge to the

malcontents of the other parts of the country. The Attahoorians had besides a private cause for discontent, which was, as I was informed, the assassination of their high priest. Being a very superstitious race, and singularly attached to the worship of their divinities, the priests are naturally held in the highest estimation and respect, as intermediate agents between the gods and the worshippers. It is well known that the morais, which serve the double purpose of places of worship and receptacles for the dead, are regarded with the utmost veneration by all the Otaheiteans. Amongst those, the morais of Attahooroo were considered to be in a peculiar manner pre-eminent, and afforded a safe retreat to criminals of all descriptions. In one of these was preserved the grand image of their God *Oro*, a divinity of the first rank. In this morai the great assemblies of state were held, human sacrifices occasionally offered, and other religious and solemn rites performed. In this holy place, the custom of the country required that the new king Otoo should undergo certain operations, circumcision, &c. previously to his being publicly recognized by the state. Hitherto he could only enjoy some peculiar privileges, such as to walk on certain spots allotted for his use, &c. his installation at Oparree being considered as only partial and preparatory to that to be performed amongst the Attahoorians, one of the most warlike tribes in the island, who constantly refused to acknowledge his authority. Open hostilities and secret intrigues and negotiations had been alike insufficient to procure for Otoo this favourite divinity;

and Pomarrie and Edeah were equally interested in the success, and grieved with the failure of their attempts, which had encouraged the inhabitants of certain other districts to imitate the resistance of those of Attahooroo. Otoo having repaired to Attahooroo, on a great religious solemnity, thought he saw a favourable opportunity of obtaining the object of his wishes, and quite unexpectedly ordered a number of his attendants to seize the god, which was instantly executed, and the image carried off in triumph. The Attahoorians, however, not inclined to part with the object of their adoration so tamely, were speedily in arms, and overtaking the plunderers, an engagement took place, in which several of Otoo's party fell, and the precious palladium was retaken. In the warfare of savages every thing is usually, indeed almost invariably, decided by the event of a single battle; they have no towns, nor armies in reserve, to check the further progress of the conqueror; they have only to betake themselves to their canoes, and in another settlement seek a refuge from their enemies. Their usual caution here deserts them, they venture into the main sea, and are not unfrequently overtaken by winds which drive them to lands which, but for such occurrences, might have remained unpeopled. Such are the second means by which an all-wise Providence works his ends, and nothing is made in vain, the most remote islands being thus inhabited. This remark cannot but be strongly confirmed by the resolution of the party of Otoo upon this defeat, as it was not without the greatest difficulty that they could be persuaded

to remain in the island. They believed their affairs wholly ruined, and that no safety remained but in flight. The missionaries, however, at length prevailed, and Pomarrie and Otoo consented not to leave their native country.

The victorious Attahoorians, however, instead of pursuing Pomarre's party, were satisfied with the victory itself, and were content to reap no other fruit than the immediate gratification of the natural passion of savage conquerors, that of revenge. Their cruelties on the persons of all who fell in their way were horrible, and they committed a general ravage in the immediate territories of their enemies; but here they had the wisdom to terminate their career. They knew, that to attack Matavai was to venture against an enemy superior to themselves, an enemy who would no longer remain neutral when provoked to action by self-defence.

The missionaries had indeed converted their dwelling house at that place into a sort of fortress, having procured the guns of the Norfolk, which, as already mentioned, had been wrecked on the shore; and their guns being planted on the upper story of the house, and having laid in a large supply of bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other necessaries, they were enabled to withstand a more vigorous siege than that of the Attahoorians. Happily for Pomarrie, the crew of the Norfolk, and other European residents in the island, in number about thirty, and all accustomed to the use of fire-arms, espoused his cause in this extremity. On this, indeed, as on former occasions, himself and family were solely indebt-

ed to his European allies. With his acquisition of Europeans, he now retaliated the cruelties of the Attahoorians on their persons, and after much time consumed in parleying, a peace was concluded between the hostile parties. However, the Attahoorians kept possession of their idol, the bone of contention, and still maintained their independence as before.

The Europeans, however, have accused Pomarrie of a breach of his engagements, that chief having, like other men in similar circumstances, probably stipulated many things neither in his power nor perhaps in his intention to perform. This peace, or rather truce, for it was no more, being concluded, and being merely the result of necessity, the adherents of Otoo stifled their resentment against the Attahoorians, in the hope of some future opportunity to gratify their revenge, and obtain the object of their desires. Such an opportunity presented itself some months afterwards, as shall in due time be related.

CHAP. IX.

LEAVE OTAHEITE....TOUCH AT HUAHEINE....VISITED BY ONE OF OUR COUNTRYMEN WHO RECOMMENDS US TO GO TO ULITEA ... ENTER THE HARBOUR OF HUAHEINE....VISITED BY THE CHIEFS....FRIENDLY RECEPTION....DEPARTURE FOR ULITEA.

WE had now been about a month in Otaheite, collecting hogs, but had procured only a small stock in proportion to our wants and expectations; we therefore resolved to leave this island and touch at that of Huaheine, to learn what supplies might be there procured, if on our return from the Sandwich Islands the same scarcity should still prevail in Otaheite. Leaving Otaheite on the following day we arrived at Huaheine, after a run of nearly thirty leagues to the north-west. While we lay off the mouth of the harbour, we were agreeably surprised at the approach of a large double canoe, as carrying a a pendant and red flag. We concluded that the king, the admiral, or some other great chief was on board; but when the canoe came along side, we discovered that the stranger was no other than one of our former shipmates, a half-witted restless fellow, who had for some time past resided in the island.

Indeed there does not occur a greater difficulty to all European ships in the South Seas than that of keeping their crew together, such is the seduction of that life of indolence, and careless-

ness, which the several islands hold out. The beauty of the country, particularly that of Otaheite, and still more the facility with which the necessaries of life may be procured, are temptations too powerful to sailors exhausted with the fatigue of such a long voyage. Add to this the women, and the difficulty of retaining our seamen against so many attractions will excite no further surprise.

From the dress and appearance of our former shipmate it was difficult to distinguish him from the natives. Our seamen were not sparing in their jests and ridicule; to all this, however, he appeared quite callous, and entirely contented with his situation; for, having no property in the island, he was in no danger of ill treatment from the inhabitants. The fellow had doubtless assumed airs of importance on the sight of our vessel, and had no doubt persuaded the chiefs to dispatch him in this splendid manner, representing that the presents he expected to receive from us (to be afterwards distributed amongst them) would be proportioned to the rank we should suppose him to enjoy in the country. However, the treatment he received from his old shipmates was not calculated to increase the respect of the natives in the canoe: we however made him a present of a few trinkets, that he might not return entirely empty-handed. In fact, the seamen had very little to spare, so well had they been stripped by their Tayos at Otaheite.

This man advised us not to stop in this island, but to go on to Ulitea: being so near the harbour however we resolved to look in, as we had no

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great opinion of the veracity of our informer. We were kindly and courteously received by the chiefs, who exerted themselves cheerfully to procure us a proper supply for all our wants; for which we made an ample recompence. One of the chiefs wore an old hat, and a counterpane of British manufacture round his body instead of a marra. Another had an old blue coat, with large yellow buttons, tied round him with a piece of country cord. The coat was so small that it did not meet by some inches in front; and the sleeves, by far too tight for him, scarcely covered his elbows. These were two of the most considerable men in the island under the regent; and they had dressed themselves in this manner in the hopes of ingratiating themselves with us. After anchoring, we immediately set up our forge to continue our repairs, and were again overpowered by the visits of the natives, some to avail themselves of it by the repair of their tools, and others from an equally troublesome curiosity, having never before seen such an apparatus. But the armourer, strictly adhering to the plan followed at Otaheite, of a rigid demand of his dues, soon lost the good opinion of the natives, and we were relieved from their importunities.

We were honoured with a visit from the principal lady in the island, who was so corpulent that it was with much difficulty she could be brought upon the deck. This lady, we were told, exercised the sovereignty in the minority of the young king her grandson, who accompanied her, but, being under age, could not enter the ship. He was dressed in a sort of pelisse of red

baize, not worn on every occasion, fitted up for him by our old shipmate Joe, and sowed with white thread little finer than our ship-twine; he had no other mark to distinguish him from any of his subjects, excepting that he seemed to be treated with attention, and carried on men's shoulders. Two of the king's sisters came off at the same time, but lay at a little distance without coming on board: they were about nine or ten years of age, and the king a year or two younger. The old lady had a number of fine women to attend her, who seemed enraptured with the different articles of British manufacture. We entertained our guests with some tunes on the violin, which seemed to give them unusual pleasure; and when evening came, they took their leave apparently well satisfied, thanking us with much natural politeness for their reception, saying in their country language, *Yoor Anna T'e, Eatooa,* May God preserve you.

On the following day, we were treated by the natives with a grand dance. The performers and their attendants came off in procession, in a large double canoe having a platform or stage erected across the forepart, on which the dancers and musicians sat. This canoe was accompanied by a great number of small canoes, filled with natives to behold the entertainment prepared for the strangers. The women were dressed in a sort of long bell hooped petticoat of their own cloth, ornamented with a purple border. What answered the purpose of a hoop was a couple of stuffed pads bound round the waist to support and distend the petticoat; round the body was

wrapped a large quantity of cloth, fastened with bandages; and opposite to each breast was placed a bunch of black feathers. They wore also a kind of turban adorned with a variety of flowers. A master of the ceremonies presided in the dance, and directed all the movements, which were not always of the most delicate nature. The music consisted of two drums made from a log of wood hollowed out in a cylindrical shape, and covered at the end with a piece of shark skin, tightly braced down the side. The musicians make no use of drum-sticks, but employ their fingers, and sometimes their hands, so as to be heard at a considerable distance. They beat slowly at first, as a signal to prepare for the dance; and as the music becomes more rapid, the dancers quicken their motions. Flutes also were used on the occasion, having only three holes or stops, one of which is of such a size as to admit of the performer's applying his nostrils to fill it. The dance required very great exertion in the women to keep time to the music by expiring and inspiring their breaths, drawing their mouths in contrary directions, and twirling their arms and fingers with some order and great regularity. Those who excelled in these contortions and gestures were the most applauded. So eager were the performers to gain the approbation of the spectators, and so violent were their exertions, overloaded with clothing and straitened with bandages, that many of them seemed at length ready to sink under the violence of their efforts. The director of the dance exerted himself to encourage them to a further continuance

of their labour, which to us appeared a kind of cruelty; and induced us at length to interfere, apparently much to the satisfaction of the performers. Our people were so much pleased with this entertainment, that they applied to me for some articles to bestow on the ladies who had worked so severely for their amusement. Goods of different sorts, to the value of three pounds, were accordingly furnished, and instantly distributed amongst the actresses; and thus an acquaintance was mutually formed, which in some instances grew into a close intimacy.

During this exhibition, some of the men were amusing themselves by a sport of their own; three of them getting into a vessel formed like a wooden dish made use of at great feastings, their weight sinking it in the water to within an inch of the brim. In this situation they whirled it round and round, by means of their paddles, with incredible velocity, till they fell into the water, when they again renewed the sport, to the no small amusement of the by-standers.

This harbour on the inside is large, spacious, and perfectly safe from all winds. The low land next the water has a most beautiful appearance, abounding with bread-fruit, cocoa, and other trees. The island of Huaheine, in proportion to its magnitude, appeared far more abundant than Otaheite; though in Huaheine, as in Otaheite, the whole hope and dependance of the islanders seemed to be in the fertility of that narrow slip or border of land, which surrounds the whole island next to the water: this border is common to most of the islands of the South Sea.

The island, however, as seen from our ship, had nothing of the beauty of Otaheite; and even its novelty could not cheat us into this opinion.

The language, customs, and manners of the two islands, seemed to be very similar; but the men of Huaheine to us appeared to be generally stouter made, and the women fairer and of better features, than in Otaheite. It was in this island that captain Cook left Omai, who had been carried to England in 1774 by captain Furneaux. It was hoped that his treasures might here be in greater safety than in Otaheite, where the dexterous address of the inhabitants would in a short time have wheedled, if not plundered him, out of every thing he possessed.

CHAP. X.

ARRIVAL AT ULITEA....VISITED BY THE CHIEFS....PULPIT CLAIMS OUR PROTECTION....CHIEFS AND CONVICTS CONSPIRE IN A PLAN TO CUT OFF THE SHIP....HOSTILITIES.

HAVING made the necessary inquiries as to the chief object of our voyage, and found that it would be but little advanced by any further continuance in Huaheine, we took our leave of the friendly chiefs, and directed our course for Ulitea, a much larger island, about eight leagues to the westward. We found the anchorage here in many places dangerous, being on a bottom of coral rock, against the sharp edges of which the strongest cable is a very insufficient security.

Navigators will do well to have this distinction, characteristic of the South Sea anchorage, always in their memory.

As soon as the ship had anchored, we were visited by the king attended by some of his chiefs, who all came on board with the greatest frankness; the king being under no such restraints as Otoo at Otaheite, having gone through all the ceremonies requisite for the complete enjoyment of his dignity. Having been much struck with the commanding appearance of Pomarrie at Otaheite, I had requested him, upon our more intimate acquaintance, to permit me to take the measure of his height, on the pretence of informing my countrymen of the majesty of his figure and deportment: in fact, such was my intention. To this he readily consented; but our cabin not being sufficiently high to allow him to stand erect, I placed him under the ship's sky-light, and there made a mark with a knife.

The stature of the king of Ulitea, measured in the same manner, was not inferior to that of his brother sovereign, and he appeared equally flattered with the cause assigned for our curiosity, that of gratifying our countrymen upon our return. But though equalling Pomarrie in stature, he was less corpulent, and altogether he did not appear to us of equal personal dignity. His name was Tomaqua, and that of his queen Teerimonie.

This lady possessed agreeable features, was shrewd and penetrating, and appeared to enjoy great influence over her husband. The royal dame was soon very busy in making Tayos or

friends amongst the ship's company; a practice not disdained by those of even the first rank, when it can promote their interest. This familiarity with all ranks of strangers, they consider to be perfectly compatible with the greatest jealousy of their station, and dignity in their intercourse among themselves.

At Ulitea we were surprised with the appearance of another of our countrymen, a man of the name of Pulpit; he came off with the king, and was accompanied by his wife as he called her, an Otaheitan girl of fourteen or fifteen years of age, dressed in a piece of black cloth of British manufacture, wrapped round her body by way of a marra. After some hesitation, this young woman was allowed to come on board with her husband. The poor fellow was no sooner upon our deck, than with a wildness of look and gestures which evinced his sincerity, he uttered an impassioned exclamation of gratitude to Heaven, "that he had escaped out of the hands of these savage murderers." In answer to our demand of an explanation, he informed us, that but a very short time before, himself and wife had been compelled to preserve their lives by flight, escaping with difficulty from Huaheine to Ulitea; that he had been landed in this latter island from the brig Venus, and in return for his voluntary service on board that ship, had received such articles as he conceived might be useful to him on the island. Amongst these articles were a musket and a double barrelled gun, which so powerfully worked on the minds of the natives, that finding all other means and artifices to get pos-

session of them ineffectual, they at last resolved to murder him, and in that manner procure the whole of his little property. This their horrible purpose had been discovered to him by the Otaheitan girl, who understood the language, and overheard their consultations upon the subject. Rendered desperate by this information, he resolved to lose his life, rather than suffer himself to be plundered of every thing by which life in such a situation could be rendered supportable. He was therefore continually on the watch against his foes, and was faithfully assisted by the young Otaheitan, who was well aware of the fate awaiting her in the event of her lover's murder. This course of life continued for some days, until being at last overpowered by incessant anxiety, watching, and fatigue, Pulpit was surprised by a party of natives, his property pillaged, and his person seized, and led away as a sacrifice to some of their divinities.

He was conducted about half a league from the spot, expecting every moment to be his last. The natives however began to dispute amongst themselves respecting the treatment he was to receive; when an elderly lady who seemed to possess much authority among them, and who had constantly opposed all sanguinary measures, threatened to leave the island if they persisted in their designs. Her remonstrances appeared to have great influence with the natives: they therefore desisted from their project, and conducted him back to his former place of residence, which was now entirely stripped. Being an ingenious man, they made him promise to repair some mus-

kets belonging to themselves; and having supplied him and the Otaheitan girl with some provisions, as a peace-offering, they withdrew. Pulpit now bent all his thoughts on making his escape; and, an opportunity soon presenting itself, he availed himself of a dark night to seize one of their canoes, and, accompanied by his heroic wife, made the best of his way to Ulitea. Here again not finding himself comfortably situated with the islanders, he had taken the present opportunity to seek for refuge in our ship.

This poor fellow's story appeared strange in itself, and to us altogether inexplicable, as we had been received in Huaheine with such apparent welcome; but as his situation in the island was very different from ours, in force, and on board ship, we could neither wholly credit nor reject what he reported.

From the account given by Pulpit of the inhabitants of Ulitea, they seemed to be much of the same character and natural habits with those in Huaheine; it was therefore impossible to prevail on him to return to the shore. "Take me to the Sandwich islands," said he, with the utmost earnestness, "or to any other place, only leave me not here to be murdered." He was therefore suffered to remain on board, as well as the young female from Otaheite; nor was it long before we had good reason to be satisfied that his unfavourable character of these islanders had neither originated in malice, or a disordered imagination; both of which, we had previously suspected, might have influenced him in his narrative.

When this affair was settled to our satisfaction,

a party of us went on shore, and were welcomed by the king and other chiefs, as hospitably as in any of the other islands we had visited. The king and his consort, moreover, spent the greater part of their time with us, and particularly requested to be allowed to sleep in a bed on board. Our success in the island depending chiefly on his good will, we indulged him in whatever he desired. He was constantly invited to take his seat at our table, was fed by one of his near relations, and otherwise treated with every attention and respect; the whole ship was open to him, and no restraint opposed to the gratification of his curiosity however troublesome and impertinent.

All our endeavours, however, to secure the good offices of this man in forwarding our business of laying in provisions, proved ineffectual. In the course of his visits to the ship, he formed an acquaintance with some convicts, several of whom, from the desertion of as many of our own crew, we had been compelled to take on board at Botany Bay, under the engagement of returning them whence we had taken them. These desperadoes, however, had formed other resolutions: they had secretly resolved to avail themselves of the first opportunity to escape, and seek a settlement more congenial to their wishes in some one of these islands. The absolute indolence which such a life held forth, the spontaneous fertility of the earth, and the plenty and facility of the women, were irresistible attractions to these wretches. It was not a very difficult matter for these fellows, long versed in roguery, to make a dupe of the sovereign of Ulitea. He

rendered a willing ear to their magnificent promises, and doubtless expected, with such generals and ministers, to extend his conquests to all the adjacent isles. Ambition is one of those qualities in which the islanders of the South Sea may rival the most civilized nations of Europe. The convicts had the cunning to know and avail themselves of this weakness of the savage chief.

The seduction of European sailors, indeed, has of late become the mischievous policy of these petty chiefs. They have heard of the signal services rendered by Europeans to Pomarrie in Otaheite, and therefore employ every art to seduce seamen to abandon their ships, and to reside amongst them. As a necessary part of the plan concerted between the convicts and the chiefs, our vessel was to be cut off from her anchors, and being thus driven on shore, the ship's company was to be murdered, and the ship to become the prey of the conspirators. Our guns, small arms, and ammunition, would have been peculiarly precious to men in their circumstances.

In the night before our intended departure from Ulitea, it was discovered that the following persons had deserted from the ship, viz. David Clark, an apprentice, Thomas Smith, a cooper by trade, Timothy Gaumely, and William Andrews, seamen; the three last were Botany Bay convicts, and had tempted to their party two Otaheitans who had come with us from that island.

This project had, doubtless originated with some of the chiefs of the island, who had acted as Tayos to one or other of these deserters. As

soon as the discovery was made, which was about two in the morning, I went singly on shore, that I might request the king to use his utmost authority to have our people restored ; and counting on his gratitude for our innumerable presents, and his apparent friendship, I had no doubt of the success of my embassy. In this, however, I found myself to have much mistaken the character of the Uliteans, who, of all virtues, have the least claim to that of gratitude ; such is the famed virtue of savages. Why will theory thus fatigue itself to raise speculations which the experience of a moment must demolish ?

When I stated to the king and chiefs what had happened, with a dissimulation worthy of a courtier he expressed the utmost surprise, accompanying it with a declaration that the men had certainly not landed near them, nor been seen by them on shore. We had good reason however afterwards to believe, that the deserters had passed his house about half an hour before I landed, and that they were at that very time in the immediate neighbourhood. I found myself here somewhat critically situated, being surrounded at this unseasonable hour of the night, by perhaps an hundred of the islanders in this one house, whilst another in the neighbourhood was occupied by the principal chief of the island of Oataha and his warriors.

I cannot here enough recommend to all voyagers into the South Sea the frequent perusal, and almost constant attention, of such of those able navigators as have visited these parts before them. The almost endless voyages, and

charts of pretended originality, which deluge the town, are of little other use, than to gratify an idle curiosity; and many of them being the fruits of vanity or ignorance, or the still less pardonable craft of book-making, have produced effects of mischief scarcely credible but where known. It is not so with the voyagers into the South Seas: many of them were men of genius, and all of them men of industry. Their experience is a security for their professional knowledge, as their public situation and rank for their veracity. They may be relied on with the most implicit confidence, as well in their charts and drawings, as in their account of the habits and manners of the islanders they visited.

Had I on this occasion recalled to my mind the treachery and artifice of these islanders, as related by captain Cook, and the strong measures that great man was compelled to employ to keep them within proper bounds, and prevent them from favouring desertions amongst his men, I should most probably not have ventured to land in the midst of these natives at such an hour, and without being properly accompanied. But so eager was I to recover the deserters, that the imminent danger of the attempt never occurred to me.

Whilst I was in conversation with the king, the commander in chief or generalissimo of the two islands entered from the other house, and with every mark of surprise and regret at our loss, suggested that the object of our search had most probably sought refuge in Huaheine or Bolabolla, and these islands being independant of

Ulitea, neither the king nor himself had any authority which could compel their surrender. They assured me, however, that if the deserters were still in Ulitea, they should be restored to us without delay, and nothing demanded of us in return, but a recompence suited to the trouble of their search for them. This recompence, it was said, must be a musket; this being the highest of the coin current between us, and therefore invariably demanded by them for any unusual exertion.

It was in vain for me to remonstrate, that had any of these people secreted themselves in our ship, they would have been returned without any such demand, and that this conduct was what I had little expected from the former friendship of our mutual intercourse. The whole of the assembly now arose as by one spontaneous motion, and I found myself surrounded on every side, a circumstance that did not much please me: I thought it therefore most prudent to come to their terms, and promise them the desired musket. So well do these gentlemen, these children of nature, understand their own interest, and the most effectual means of securing it.

Here again another difficulty was started; for the chiefs declared that as they could not depend on our promises, they must have the musket in their possession, before they took any steps in the business. I accordingly gave them one, as I saw that they very well understood the advantage of our relative situation. Nor were their intrigues yet exhausted, they had yet another artifice; it was impossible for them to secure the

deserters who were probably armed with knives and other weapons, unless they were furnished with more fire-arms, &c. By this time I had learned that the men were actually concealed in a house, a short way up the country, and mentioning this to to the natives they did not attempt to deny it; but observed that as they had now received their reward, the deserters should without fail be restored to us, only that, to prevent accidents, it would be the most prudent method to seize them when asleep the following night. Finding nothing farther could be effected, I returned to the ship. Here again another difficulty awaited me; on entering the ship I found one of my fellows, the best seaman in the ship, haranguing the rest of his shipmates, recommending them to abstain from their duty till the rest of the crew were restored. However, upon instantly adopting strong measures, that is to say, applying loaded pistols to his head, and informing him at the same time in a determined tone that another word should be his last, this spark of mutiny was suppressed, and, the orator and his abettor being punished on the spot, good order was restored.

A whole day had been lost in this fruitless negotiation: about half an hour past ten o'clock at night, I was aroused from my sleep by the voice of the captain who then held the watch, exclaiming, Turnbull, our ship is on shore, the ship is on shore. Jumping instantly out of bed, and running upon deck in my shirt, I found there was no wind to affect the ship; and it being too dark to see the shore, I sounded and found up-

wards of twelve fathoms of depth, and no sensible motion of the ship or water: I was persuaded therefore that the captain was in error, that his anxiety had overpowered his vigilance, and given reality to the object of his imagination. Examining the cables, I found them both lying slack on the deck, which confirmed me still more in the idea that the captain was mistaken: but the seamen being commanded to haul the cables, the first pull brought the ends of both of them on board. It is impossible to describe the general sensation produced by this discovery, that our cables were cut, and we were drifting on shore. Another anchor, having an iron stock, was immediately ordered to be cleared away; but such was our alarm and confusion, that it was not till after repeated trials, that we effected the stocking of it. The old adage, the more haste the less speed, was never more truly verified. It happened very providently that there was not a breath of wind stirring, otherwise the ship must have gone to pieces very speedily, for she now lay with her broadside against a reef of coral rocks, the edges of which were as sharp as flints, having twelve fathoms of water on the outside. In addition to these circumstances, we had every thing to dread from the designs and practices of some of our crew, who were as little to be trusted as the savages on shore. It therefore demanded all our skill to keep their minds in proper order, and to maintain due authority in so critical a situation, and particularly into whose hands we trusted fire-arms. It is but justice to say, that as far as we could judge from appearances, our

representations and precautions on this trying occasion had the happiest effect.

It was fortunate for us also in this distress, that for some slight offence given by individuals of the crew, the natives had threatened to murder them, whenever an opportunity should offer itself. The apprehensions of these men were now extreme, and by communicating their fears to the other seamen, and persuading them that one common lot awaited them without distinction, they united all hands in the common effort of endeavouring to rescue the vessel from her present very perilous situation. It is indeed a remark which even my own experience has suggested, that however discontented from other causes, there is a generous sentiment in an English seaman which, in cases of difficulty and danger, retains them to their duty and fidelity. Thus it has not unfrequently happened, that symptoms of mutiny on board our vessels has been restrained by the the appearance of an enemy, when all as unanimously united to defend their officers, as they had before conspired to resist their authority.

Having bent the remaining part of one of the cables, about thirty fathoms, to the anchor, it was carried out in the long boat to eighteen fathoms water, and the ship hauled seven or eight fathoms off from the reef. Whilst this was doing, we suddenly heard a loud and clamorous noise amongst the natives on shore, and seemingly close under the ship's stern; the wretches were rendered outrageous by the disappointment of their hopes, the ship being now visibly mov-

ed from the rocks. They had hitherto maintained a profound silence, in the expectation that her bulging would give the signal for the commencement of their plunder. They now begun an assault with stones in such quantities, and with such force, that in the hopes of intimidating them, we were compelled to discharge some swivels and muskets over their heads. This however produced a volley of musketry from the natives stationed on different points of the shore. We now found it necessary to have recourse to our great guns, commencing a brisk fire; with what success we knew not, as they still kept up an irregular discharge of musketry in various directions, though we continued to play on those quarters whence their fire seemed to proceed. Their noise and clamour remained unabated, and we could discover by the fury of their menaces, both their hopes of ultimate success, and the fate that awaited us in that event Some of us were particularised as set aside to be roasted, whilst others were to be flayed alive to make tiaboolas, or jackets, of their skins, &c. with many similar expressions, which were not without a salutary effect in encouraging the resistance of our sailors, who, of all things, seemed to entertain the greatest horror of being roasted.

CHAP. XI.

CONTINUATION OF HOSTILITIES....DISCOVER THE DESERTERS.... PROVIDENTIAL ESCAPE.

OUR fears were however now considerably abated, having succeeded so far in getting the ship afloat; but we were still very close to the shore, and the water being too deep for us to ride with safety with so short a scope of cable, we were still very far from being safe.

That we might however neglect no means of security which our circumstances allowed, we got another anchor from the hold, and stocked and bent it to the remainder of the other cable, still keeping up our fire of musketry, and occasionally discharging a great gun. When this second anchor was run out to the last inch of cable, all on board felt as the condemned malefactor who receives a reprieve when on the eve of execution. The fury and menaces of the savages on shore seemed to encrease, and they continued to assail us with stones and fire arms without ceasing, their numbers by this time being considerably augmented.

As day light was now approaching, we hoped to be enabled to dislodge them from their shelter; and menaced in our turn an effectual revenge; of this, however, confident in the safety of their posts, they appeared to entertain no apprehen-

sion. Our threatenings seemed only to call forth fresh attacks and new defiance of our power. We now learned the truth of what we had before often heard from others, that the fury of savages in battle is incredible, and bears no resemblance to that of a civilized being under the same circumstances. They forcibly recall to the mind the fables of heathen mythology; they appear possessed; a fury more than human seems to flare in their eyes, and convulse their souls. But I will not attempt to describe what no words can convey. I will only observe, that if their courage and talent of mischief were equal to their fury, they would be invincible.

Seeing we could bring about no accommodation with these blood-thirsty savages, for such their treachery and infuriate menaces but too clearly proved them, we had but one expedient for withdrawing from the destruction that awaited us: this was to take advantage of the present calm, and warp the ship out to sea; or at least so far from the shore, as to have nothing to dread from the musketry, or other assults of the natives. We should thus gain time to consider and arrange our future resolutions.

Having previously, therefore, served out a portion of spirits from the small stock we had now remaining to every man on board, we endeavoured to render them sensible of the danger. There was not indeed much necessity for these efforts to animate their courage, their terror of being roasted or flayed alive had more effect on them than could have been produced by the most powerful eloquence. To avoid this fate they would

not have hesitated to have mounted a breach, their defence was in good earnest, and had our ship been wrecked on the shore, I am persuaded the savages would not have procured an easy victory. The weather was fortunately still very calm, but what little wind there was came in from the sea, and we had too much reason to fear that it might encrease in the same direction as the day approached. As the ship rode with her stern towards the shore, it became necessary to take every precaution for the defence of this vulnerable point; and the swivels on the stern having been dismounted on the first fire, we brought up two of our great guns, but, upon the approach of day light, we had the mortification to discover that the natives seemed to be but little afraid of what we could do against them. They were sufficiently acquainted with the use of guns to watch our motions on board, and when we were ready to fire, they suddenly skulked behind the rocks or trees, which were in great numbers along the shore, so that we found our fire only wasted our stock of ammunition, and instead of removing our enemies seemed rather to encourage their attacks. The trees and clefts of the rocks likewise served them for another purpose, which in the hands of better soldiers might have been of most fatal effect to us. Resting their muskets on these supports, they took a most deliberate aim, and must have inevitably killed us one by one, had they possessed but the most common knowledge of the use of their arms: but, fortunately, their awkwardness was more than a sufficient balance to their other advantages.

Their fire, however, was not without effect, it did great damage to our rigging, boardings, nettings, and boats, and many of their shot lodged in the hull of the ship. So intent were they on our destruction, that such of the natives as had no fire-arms, their muskets being as we learned before the onset about fourteen, betook themselves to the mountains which overhung the ship, and thence annoyed us by discharging vollies of stones, many of them of incredible size. Their firing and assaults slackening a little about ten in the forenoon, we judged it to be a favourable moment for weighing the anchor, and carrying the ship farther out to sea, and accordingly manned the boat with volunteers for this service. The natives, however, as soon as they discovered our motions, recommenced their fire, directing it chiefly at the boat, and this with such manifest danger to the men, that they were compelled to give over the attempt, and return to the ship for protection. At this time we could discover two of our former shipmates as active as the most furious of the savages; and, so hateful is treachery, this circumstance irritated us more powerfully than even the menaces of the islanders. It is my opinion, that had we recovered these fellows by the success of our arms, we should not have had authority enough to restrain the crew from executing summary justice on their treason. The boat being returned to the ship, we again renewed a fire of round and grape shot, but with little effect, as they still kept close under cover, and harrassed us greatly in our operations.

In an hour after all firing, as if by mutual con-

sent, ceased on both sides, and our people, who had been on their legs for nearly forty hours, were allowed to take some refreshments, and one half of them to lay down at a time; thus relieving each other by turns. We had every reason to expect that the attack would be soon renewed, and with so much the more vigour, as the interval and noise of the guns must collect to the spot greater part of the islanders. Nor had we any hopes that the new recruits would effect any change in the disposition of their countrymen, except that of animating them to a renewal of their efforts to seize a prize, the possession of which would equally enrich the captors, and render the island an overmatch in strength for any of their neighbours.

We had not at this time the least prospect of getting out of our critical situation, but in a short time afterwards a favourable opportunity for weighing the anchors, and drawing the ship farther off from the shore presented itself. The boat was again manned, and the attempt made, when a well directed fire suddenly commenced on it the second time; our people were again compelled to relinquish their plan, and once more betake themselves to the ship. Never was a situation more alarming than was ours the whole of this day. We had learned that the natives intended to draw together every canoe they could muster, and fall upon us under cover of the night, whilst their companions on shore were to swim off, and assist in one grand attempt to board us, or by cutting our cables a second time, reduce us again completely in their power.

The fate preparing for us in the event of defeat was horrible beyond the conception of civilized beings, for the revenge of these savages is only equalled by their fury. The murderer of Henry the Fourth, of France, did not suffer greater torments than were prepared for us upon the completion of the victory, which the savages promised themselves; nor were their hopes without some reasonable foundation; for, to confess the truth, we saw no means of safety, so desperate was our condition. At this time a large double canoe was discovered coming round a point of land, from the windward side of the island, crowded with natives. The sight of this evidently appalled the spirits of the whole crew, who judged naturally, and perhaps rightly, that this canoe was only the first of many more following, and all equally bent on our destruction. The canoe advancing within a mile of us, we threw a three pounder shot across her bow, which threw the natives into such disorder, that many of them jumped into the water, and swam on shore, whilst their companions remaining in the canoe, changing their direction, paddled back as fast as possible to the nearest land. A second discharge from the same gun, double shotted, went through and through them; they evidently now betrayed both fear and astonishment, and throwing themselves overboard, swam for the shore, leaving the canoe in the charge of a few old men, who strained every nerve to reach the land.

By the imprudence of a few Europeans, fugitives from some of the ships which have at different times visited these islands, our fire-arms

have lost much of their salutary effect upon the fears of the natives; and we can no longer restrain their insolence, or more attrocious offences, by the mere act of presenting our arms, and making a discharge over their heads; the humane practice of captain Cook. It is not till some signal example is made by the death of one or more of their ring-leaders, that they can be made to abstain from their savage hostility; a circumstance necessary to be understood, in order to vindicate a conduct which would otherwise appear cruel and wanton.

This was the only good opportunity that presented itself of making the natives feel the effects of our cannon, as they had here no shelter; and our success, it was hoped, would discourage them from any fresh attempt, at least by water; for it suited neither our circumstances, nor our inclinations, to continue hostilities. It was a maxim invariably acted upon by us in our short intercourse with these islanders, that there was a degree of justice, and natural right, due even to savages; and that the circumstance of our being beyond the reach of law, did not put us beyond that of moral obligation. Had this practice existed amongst other of their European visitors, the islanders would have entertained more respect, and perhaps a more effectual terror, than they appear to hold at present. But to some men, impunity is a most fertile source of crimes. Whatever might have been our indignation at their treachery, we considered it as giving us no farther right to punish, than as far as was necessary for our defence. This was, however, de-

cisive; all firing ceased, and little noise was heard on shore.

It was now four in the afternoon, and we were all fully employed in making every preparation to repel the grand attack expected in the night. Each man was furnished with twelve rounds of ball cartridge, and twenty-four pistol bullets. Our muskets, being thirty in number, were well cleaned and fresh flinted; the great guns and swivels were double shotted and filled with old iron; and blunderbusses and cutlasses distributed on the deck, to be ready for service at a moment's notice. And, as much as possible to prevent the stones thrown by the natives from doing us injury, awnings were spread over the deck, and every other precaution taken to enable us to sell our lives at the dearest rate, and defend the ship to the last extremity. During all these operations, our worthy captain was suffering most severe pain, from firing off an overloaded blunderbuss in the beginning of the affair, when the swivels were dismounted.

About half-past six in the evening, the wind, which had hitherto blown from the sea, shifted gently round to a land breeze, furnishing us with a most favourable opportunity for getting away unperceived in the night. That our operations might not be discovered, we muffled the pauls of the windlass, and began to heave away upon one anchor at a time; when this was done, we got the long boat ahead, hove short on the second anchor, and carried out the first to the last inch of cable. We then got up the second anchor, and carried it out to sea in the same man-

ner; and in this way our hopes began to revive, having the prospect of getting well off the shore, or perhaps out to sea, before day-light should discover our motions. So deeply were the minds of all on board impressed with a sense of our situation and danger, that in all this time not a whisper was heard in the ship; we were even in terror lest the uncommon brilliancy of the stars should discover the passing and repassing of our boat, as it passed backwards and forwards in weighing and carrying out the anchors.

In all these transactions we received signal services from poor Pulpit, whom we had taken on board here; for he was an excellent marksman, and was well aware of what his fate would be, should he fall again into the hands of the Uliteans; he therefore fought like a lion, resolved never to yield but with his last breath. His young Otaheitan wife likewise behaved like a heroine, carrying powder to the men, and exerting herself to the utmost in every way in which she could be useful; at the same time she seemed to regret that so much ammunition should be expended, one half of which would have rendered her the wealthiest lady in all her native country.

Notwithstanding all our difficulties, by the blessing of Providence on our strenuous exertions, we succeeded in getting some sail set before our motions were discovered by the natives on shore. The wretches, seeing the ship under sail, hailed us with a most hideous and savage howling, mingled with mutual reproaches and upbraidings for not keeping a better look-out, as the ship would now be for ever lost to them.

By this time, nearly two in the morning, we had moved off far enough to be out of their reach; but the weather becoming thick and dark, we came to with both anchors, and stood on our guard until day-light. We now thought it might be possible to recover the anchors we had lost; but the chief mate coming to the quarter deck brought a message from the ship's company, requesting they might be allowed to weigh the anchors and get under sail, lest we should be caught by the wind from the sea, and again be thrown into the hands of this treacherous and savage people. This proposal was agreed to; as it must have been extremely difficult, however desirable, to recover our anchors. When we had now fairly escaped without the harbour, and were about hoisting in the boat, one of the men, in hawling her from under the counter, perceived a long thick rope towing astern, which was fastened to the rudder five or six feet under water, and was most probably the very rope by which the natives had drawn the ship on shore, after they had cut her cables.

In looking back to the history of these islanders, we find their general character to be a compound of mischief and dissimulation; the latter quality seems to be ingrafted in their very nature. The magnitude and force of captain Cook's ships, one would naturally conceive, would have been sufficient to have intimidated them in the weak and defenceless state in which he had first found them; this, however, did not deter them from trying some of their manœuvres with his people, by encouraging them to

desert, and afterwards concealing them as much as was in their power. This they might be certain could not escape the penetrating eye of that great man, and must consequently draw upon them his just indignation. The captain was thus often under the necessity of acting contrary to his best inclinations, as well in order to prevent such practices in future, as to recover his own men. Even in this way they seemed to be equally qualified on the part of retaliation; for had their schemes succeeded, they would have surprised captain Clark, and Mr. Gore. They intended moreover, if possible, to have seized captain Cook himself; and they doubtless supposed the odds would then have been considerably in their favour. He wisely and prudently, however, put it out of their power, by keeping close to the ship whilst negotiations were pending.

Before we leave Ulitea, it is proper to observe in general, that after Otaheite it is the most considerable of what are called the Society Islands. It is connected with the neighbouring island of Otaha in the closest political alliance; and the chief or king of Otaha, who generally resides in Ulitea, is the commander in chief of the inhabitants of both islands in time of war, and seemed to possess much more power and influence in Ulitea than the king himself.

Strangers who may have occasion to touch at either of these islands, ought to be much on their guard in their intercourse with the natives; for we are but too well warranted by experience to assert that they are in general cool, designing,

and knavish; capable of cherishing the most diabolical schemes, under the most deceitful and specious appearances. There is no method, not even excepting assassination, they will not employ to accomplish their views, when their interest is to be promoted. From their continual attempts to seduce the crews of European ships to settle among them, and in particular from the number of convicts permitted to assist in navigating vessels which have been at Botany Bay, and who seldom fail to avail themselves of this opportunity to desert, and settle amongst a people whom they are equally willing and able to instruct in every species of villainy; from all these and other considerations, I must confess, that in my opinion there is a great probability of these islands becoming in no great length of time, nests of lawless plunderers and pirates.

The chiefs of this island are said to be nearly allied to the royal family of Otaheite. We have already said that the general manners and customs of the inhabitants are the same. The Ulieans indeed have less of that social benevolence, as well towards each other, as in the reception of strangers, which has ever been remarked as distinguishing the Otaheitans. Perhaps this may be in some degree imputed to the greater frequency of their wars; they are indeed always at war either with each other or with the natives of Bollabolla, and this continued hostility must be confessed to be a very ill nurse to the social affections.

The custom of the son disinheriting the father exists here as at Otaheite, accompanied by cir-

cumstances still more degrading and unnatural. From the birth or at least the manhood of the son, the whole authority of the father vanishes; and however great or powerful he might have been before, he now becomes a petty chief. The father of this chief made us a visit, but with so little an appearance of rank or influence, that had he not been pointed out to us as such, we should not have known him; he had absolutely nothing about him which could lead to any suspicion that he was above the meanest of his countrymen.

We moreover received a visit from the mother of the queen; she brought with her two hogs, and lamented, with an appearance of sincerity, that it was beyond her power to be more liberal. However these illustrious personages had sunk in the estimation of the natives, we received them with a distinction suited to their former quality, and they seemed much flattered with this reception. In our presents we had equally our attention upon their rank.

To judge from what afterwards came to our knowledge, we lost nothing by this liberality. The queen's mother, and the wife of the general, as we learned upon our return to Otaheite, remonstrated strongly against the perfidy of their countrymen in endeavouring to cut our ship. The Uliteans, however, lent a deaf ear to their advice, and sternly commanded them to concern themselves with their own affairs.

It was by these freebooters that Omai was plundered of all his property; for shortly after his settlement in Huaheine, the Uliteans made a descent upon that island, and his property became the spoil of the victorious invaders.

CHAP. XII.

LEAVE ULITEA...PASS BOLLABOLLA WITHOUT HAVING ANY COMMUNICATION WITH THE NATIVES...INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES OF MAURA.

THE hazards we had just experienced at Ulitea were so fresh in our minds, that although we passed near the island of Bollabolla, we made no attempt to open any intercourse with the inhabitants, who have the character of being daring pirates. They are said to have been originally such men as for their crimes had either fled or been banished from the surrounding islands. They are considered to be numerous, and the bravest warriors in all the Society Islands, and are a great terror to the Uliteans. The island of Bollabolla is distant from Ulitea about six leagues, and may be easily distinguished from the other islands, by a very lofty double-peaked mountain, which may in good weather at sea be observed at the distance of fifteen leagues. The eastern side, as we sailed along it, had a very sterile appearance, and the island has not the same repute of fertility as Otaheite or Ulitea. As we made no stay, we can say nothing from our own experience, but that the distinguishing characteristic of these islanders, according to the report of their neighbours, is a more savage ferocity; a circumstance con-

sistent with their reputed original, that of having been fugitive criminals.

Our next station was the island called Marra or Mobidie, being the most leeward and smallest of the Society Islands. It is only about fourteen or fifteen miles in circuit, and appears to be surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which render the approach to the shore very difficult. We were told, however, by the natives, that the lee side furnishes a good harbour for shipping; a circumstance, if true, not known to our navigators, as in every account of their southern voyages it is stated that this island has no harbour. It is surrounded, in the same manner as the neighbouring islands, by one of those perilous coral reefs, which render even the harbours of the Society Islands a very insufficient security, and altogether none at all when the wind blows with any violent degree of strength from the sea. The east side of the island produces cocoa-trees in great abundance, and the bread-fruit here was much larger, and of a better quality, than any we had seen in the other islands to windward: hogs, moreover, some of which we procured, were much cheaper than in the other islands. The inhabitants appeared to us to differ in no material respect from their neighbours in the other islands; and from what was related to us on our return to Port Jackson, their disposition seemed to be of the same kind. When his majesty's ship the Porpoise was at this island, the natives formed a scheme to cut off her boat, in which were the master, the surgeon, four seamen, and two marines, all armed. The plot was, how-

ever, happily discovered in time to prevent the attempt, by the surgeon, who was acquainted with the language of the island. The object of the natives, had their design succeeded, was to get possession of the fire-arms in the boat; and such is the eagerness with which they covet those instruments of destruction, that there is no hazard they will not run, no crime they will not perpetrate, to obtain possession of them. It must be confessed, indeed, that local circumstances give these articles a value, the temptation of which cannot be resisted by a common portion of honesty: a dozen of muskets might enable them to repel, nay, perhaps subdue their neighbours, and if their ambition thus overleaps all common restraints, it must be lamented that there are others of a more refined nation, who are not a whit behind them in this weakness.

In this small island we found a chief of Otaheite, who, for some misconduct, had been obliged to exile himself, and had taken refuge here. This man's case served to confirm me in an opinion previously formed from observation, that the natives of Otaheite did not differ from those of the neighbouring islands so much in their personal character and dispositions, as in the nature of their government: and that the greater part of that seeming gentleness of manners for which they have been remarked, must be imputed rather to the power and authority of their king or principal chief than to their natural habits: this at least was certainly the case under the administration of our friend Pomarrie. And here again we had further proofs of the preference constant-

ly given by the natives to articles of use, above others of mere ornament: beads, trinkets, looking-glasses, &c. were held in no estimation comparatively with knives, hatchets, muskets, or other instruments, to the utility of which they were no strangers. During our short stay among these islands, we had an opportunity of seeing two men who presented a most loathsome appearance. They were lepers, and seemed to have entirely lost their original skin, having the appearance of having been completely scalded from head to foot. These wretched beings, so much the object of abhorrence as well as of compassion in our eyes, were highly respected by their fellow islanders, as they were priests, and both of them considered men of no common sanctity in their eyes.

It is indeed one of the most singular traits amongst these savage nations, that their religion is not only tinctured, but apparently altogether composed of such ideas, as the nature of man most powerfully abhors. Their idea of a God, for a God, that is to say, a power above nature, they all acknowledge, is not that of a being beneficient, a common parent of nature, and a creator and benefactor of man: such is not the God of the Society Islands. On the contrary, the being they worship, is the being they fear, the being to whom they impute the destruction of their canoes, and the danger, the diseases, and deaths of their chiefs. Their diseases, and particularly those of their priests, are sacred, as the immediate effects of their power. These two lepers could not have been more revered, had they been prophets.

From this general character, that their deity is the offspring of their fears, may be induced the whole system of their mythology, and the attributes of their divinities. Hence it is, the idea of horror being connected with that of deformity, that representations of these Gods are usually either wholly shapeless or frightful.

CHAP. XIII.

ADIEU TO THE SOCIETY ISLANDS....LUDICROUS CIRCUMSTANCE IN THE PASSAGE, BETWEEN THE OTAHEITAN NATIVES AND OUR SEAMEN....ARRIVAL AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS....COMMERCE....TRADING....DESERTION OF OUR CARPENTER.

LEAVING Maura, we bid adieu for the present to the Society Islands, and stood on our course for the Sandwich Islands. This voyage furnished no occurrences out of the common order. The seamen, in their manner, amused themselves by representing to the natives of Otaheite on board, the dangers that awaited them in crossing a certain part of the sea, meaning the equinoctial line, where they would certainly be harassed by infernal spirits rising out of the water. These stories had a powerful effect on the poor strangers, who had moreover for some time been extremely uneasy and impatient to see land once more, and appeared most sincerely to regret their imprudence in embarking on a voyage to which they could discover no bounds. So great was their terror at the moment, that I

am persuaded had any land been in sight, they would have taken themselves off without leave; but as there was no back-door, they were compelled to submit to their fate; and their terror furnished an inexhaustible fund of amusement to our mischievous sailors.

In their distress they at last applied to be informed as to the truth of what the sailors had said, and on being undeceived, gave a scope to their joy in the most extravagant manner, leaping and hallooing about the deck, as if their minds had at once been relieved from the most dreadful apprehensions. It was however out of my power to prevent them from going through the operation of shaving, &c. usually performed by seamen on persons crossing the line for the first time, and considered by them as too serious a privilege to surrender to any remonstrance. We could discover that the whole of this business had made a deep impression on the Otaheitans, and that they promised themselves much pleasure in recounting their adventures to their countrymen on their return; when the truth would doubtless receive abundant embellishment, for these islanders are naturally fond of the marvellous, and are not even scrupulous in the accounts they give of any extraordinary events that fall in their way. The wind being scanty in the latter part of our voyage, the first land we made was Whahoo, an island subject to Tamahama, the great chief of the Sandwich Islands. Here we opened a trade with the inhabitants for salt, which we found much scarcer and dearer than we had expected. The increased price was occasioned, not only by the

scarcity, but by the frequent intercourse the natives have with Europeans and Americans, from whom they have learned to affix a proper value to the productions of their country, and their bargains discover a knowledge and an acuteness very uncommon.

The Americans carry on in particular a most active trade with these islands, supplying them with property at an easy rate in exchange for provisions, and, unless I am much deceived, will do more than any others to exalt it to a singular degree of civilization. The reader will here pardon me for introducing this remark on American commerce: so far does it exceed all former efforts of former nations, that even the Dutch themselves sink under the comparison. Scarcely is there a part of the world, scarcely an inlet in these most unknown seas, in which this commercial hive has not penetrated. The East Indies is open to them, and their flags are displayed in the seas of China. And it must be confessed, to their honour, that their success is well merited by their industry.

In order to accommodate the natives in bringing off their articles for sale, or rather barter, we kept the ship as close as possible in with the land: but then we were beset with such numbers of men and women, that our vessel could not have contained a quarter of our visitors, had we been disposed to admit them on board. To prevent this embarrassment, we resolved as much as possible to assume the appearance of a ship of war: and therefore dressed six seamen in soldiers uniforms, and made them walk the deck under arms

and kept our colours and pendant always flying. These precautions we had reason to believe were not unnecessary, for it was in this island that the captain and the astronomer of his majesty's ship Dædalus lost their lives in an affray with the natives. The exemplary manner in which their murder was revenged by captain Vancouvre, has been very beneficial to all navigators who since his time have touched at the island. A few similar instances of justice would have more efficacy in ensuring the safety of our intercourse with this people, than any of those wanton and ill-judged cruelties which, under the circumstance of the slightest quarrel with these natives, are but too commonly practised.

The natives showed the utmost eagerness to get on board the ship; but when all their attempts were opposed, and themselves forced back into their canoes by our new-made marines, they at last contented themselves with lying at a little distance, conversing with our Otaheitan natives. After some time, appeared one of the deputy chiefs of the island, under Tamahama, whose approach created no small stir and bustle among the other islanders in their endeavouring to open a passage for him. But as many of their canoes were crowded and entangled together, they were in the hurry run down by the canoe of this great man, who took not the least notice of the disasters he had so wantonly occasioned, or rather who affected this cavalier behaviour, with the intention of impressing us with a high idea of his rank and consequence in the country. The poor natives, recovering their canoes, cleared them of

the water, got into them again, and remained near the ship, without expressing the smallest dissatisfaction or complaint on account of the tyrannical treatment of the chief. When he was received on board, he immediately commenced inspector-general of all commodities brought off to us for sale; and at last, whether justly or unjustly I know not, he seized an old man whom he charged with offering for sale some salt belonging to the king. The old man was so alarmed at this charge, that he seemed ready to expire with terror; so that we interposed in his behalf, and on our account he was pardoned, and set at at liberty. Whilst he was on board, he released us from the embarrassment of our numerous visitors: seemingly resolved that we should be troubled with no other impertinence but his own. He commanded the canoes to remove to a greater distance, and issued his mandates in a tone of authority which would not have disgraced a bashaw. He appeared to entertain an equal indifference to any mischief he might cause; for as many of his countrymen as were in any degree tardy in obeying his mandate, he saluted with stones from our ballast, which maimed not a few of them.

Nor did the natives appear to oppose any resistance, but submitted, as if to an acknowledged authority, without murmur or reluctance. In these islands, indeed, obedience is understood as well as tyranny, and the despotism and wantonness of command in the chiefs is only equalled by the correspondent timidity and submission of the people. Philosophers are much mistaken who

build systems of natural liberty. Rousseau's savage, a being who roves the woods according to his own will, exists no where but in his writings.

Although we could not but abhor the despotic conduct of this chief, yet to it we were indebted for the clearing of the ship from crowds of natives, who were endeavouring on all hands, to come on board. He had however with him some friends, whom he requested leave to introduce to us, and to whom on his account we shewed what civilities appeared to be proper.

We remained only a few days in this island, salt being so scarce that we were obliged to remove the ship to several different places to glean what could be found. When our business was over, we settled our accounts with the chief just mentioned, who was receiver general for the king. He then left the ship, and, to our astonishment, was accompanied by every native, taking to their paddles, and making for the land with all possible speed. One canoe, the one which had brought off one of Tamahama's naval officers, alone remained. We inquired of this person the meaning of the sudden departure of his countrymen, but he declared he was totally ignorant of the cause, and neither could nor would give us any satisfaction. Being apprehensive of some treacherous projects against us, either on the part of the islanders or of their chiefs, it at first occurred to us to secure the person of this officer as a pledge for our safety; but on further consideration of the difficulties to which this step might expose not only us, but other future European navigators,

we judged it most prudent to suffer him to depart.

As soon as he had left us, beginning now to suspect the true cause of the hasty departure of our visitors, I made inquiry amongst our people whether they had not found means to steal some articles belonging to the ship; and from their general precipitation, and general flight, my mind suggested to me that the theft was of no ordinary consequence. It was some time before I could procure a satisfactory answer; but it was at length discovered that our carpenter had secretly conveyed himself into one of the canoes, and had thus been carried on shore.

Such is the difficulty, nay almost impossibility, of maintaining the necessary complement of men in these voyages, that I could almost recommend that no one should hazard the attempt, unless, as in a kings ship, he can support his authority by martial law. Nothing, as we have before mentioned, can withstand the seduction and artifices of the southern islanders; women, and a life of indolence, are too powerful for the sense of duty in the minds of our seamen. Had we relaxed our efforts for a single moment, our ship would have been deserted.

The acquisition of such a person was of inestimable value to Tamahama, and there seemed to be little doubt that, conscious of the value of their prize, they would defend it with their utmost efforts. Our force, moreover, was wholly inadequate to compel them to restore him; and in endeavouring to recover one of our ship's company we should have run the risk of losing many more

by similar desertion. From these and other reasons, we thought it more prudent to put up with our loss: although of a person whom we could so ill spare.

CHAP. XIV.

DEPARTURE FROM WHAHOO....ARRIVAL AT ATTOWAIE....VISITED BY THE KING, AND GENERAL OF THE ISLAND....TAMAHAMA'S DETERMINATION TO INVADE THEM....FRIENDLY RECEPTION.

ALTHOUGH the island of Whahoo is one of the most fruitful in the dominions of Tamahama, and that the natives supplied us with an abundance of all necessary articles, yet the demands of the sellers were much higher than we had either reason to expect, or could indeed afford. The natives have indeed profited sufficiently by their intercourse with navigators, to know the greater value of their country produce than at what they had hitherto rated it.

One of these islanders had the modesty to demand the ship's mainsail in barter for four hogs. In all their bargains they would have their choice of whatever articles they wished in exchange, and as much of these as they wanted; no business could otherwise be done, and they returned with their wares to the shore. We were therefore obliged to confine our dealings to what was indispensably requisite for the use of the ship and crew.

Here we were informed that the king Tamahama, attended by the greater part of his chiefs, was at present at Mouie. It is the wise policy of this chief that all those who possess any authority or influence in the country, should accompany him in his progress through his dominions, that he may have them constantly under his eye, and not leave them exposed to the seductions and conspiracies of his rival chiefs. These are continually in pursuit of the means of throwing off his yoke, and rendering themselves independent as well of him, and of each other, as of their former king.

For this precaution, moreover, he assigns his own experience, that once being absent on an expedition to a neighbouring island, an insurrection was fomented in his absence, and that it was not without much difficulty that he could restore his authority. Since that time he has never given the chiefs the same opportunity; it is the chiefs alone he dreads, for he observes that there is no danger to be apprehended from the lower order whilst separated from the chiefs. From further information received here, Tamahama seems to be making rapid progress in his schemes of aggrandisement. After having defeated the rightful sovereign of this island of Whahoo, and all the kings of the islands to the eastward, he has forced him, after many ineffectual struggles, to take refuge in the island of Attowaie. Thus the sovereign authority over all those islands remains in his family, and his power and riches, from his intercourse with shipping, was hourly increasing. He was at this time making great preparations to

exterminate the fugitive king even from his place of refuge. So intent was he on this invasion, that the chief anxiously demanded of us our next destination, and whether we intended touching at Attowaie. He was urgent to obtain a passage for himself and another, to act as spies. We excused ourselves in the best possible way, observing it much depended upon circumstances, and thus cleared ourselves of the importunities of these emissaries of this Alexander of the Sandwich Islands.

Leaving Whahoo, we directed our course to another island to the leeward, called Attowaie; but the wind was so unfavourable, that we could not weather the south part of this island; we therefore stood along close under the north shore. proceeding slowly to give the natives an opportunity of guessing the object of our visit. It was not long before some of the islanders came off to us; they requested us to anchor until they should return, and inform their countrymen of our arrival upon their coasts.

Amongst these islanders the arrival of an European vessel is an event of the first political importance; an event in which king and people are equally concerned. The Otaheitans receive us with the satisfaction of friends; the Sandwich islanders have reached more than one gradation higher in the scale of civilization, and, understanding their own interest, consider their European visitors as the importers of new arts, and new skill and industry, into their country. The voyage of Vancouvre has made a most eminent and permanent change in the situation of the

Sandwich islanders. They have taken a leap as it were into civilization, and, if their progress keep any pace with the vigour of their first start, they will not be long considered as savages.

In the interval of waiting the arrival of our promised visitors, we fitted up our temporary marines, and made every other preparation that might make a favourable impression on the minds of the natives.

As soon as it was made known on shore that a ship had appeared off the coast, with an intention to stop and take in supplies, the commander in chief or generalissimo was dispatched to welcome us in the name of the king.

This personage appeared in a most beautiful canoe; he seemed to be overjoyed at our arrival, and apologised on account of the lateness of the hour, for his master's not waiting on us in person.

He was particularly inquisitive respecting the situation of affairs at Whahoo, and the state of the preparations made by Tamahama for the threatened invasion of the island. We explained to him that however painful it was to us to be messengers of disagreeable tidings, we could give him no encouragement to hope that Tamahama had laid aside his project; for that every thing seemed to show his determination to attempt it as speedily as the necessary preparations would allow. This the chief said he already had learned, and was now grieved to have the news confirmed by strangers, who had no possible interest in deluding him.

It was easy to see how much this information

affected him, for from being extremely gay and communicative, as when he first came on board, he instantly became melancholy and taciturn. He was a near relation of the king, and had steadily adhered to him in all his misfortunes. They were now cooped up with a small body of faithful followers, but were firmly resolved to oppose to the utmost the attacks of Tamahama.

May the efforts of their courage and patriotism give an awful lesson to their ambitious conqueror, that courage in a good cause, animated by despair, is a sufficient overbalance for even a greater inequality of force! Tamahama is no unworthy imitator of his European original. His haughty tone to his enemies, and his genius and spirit of enterprise in creating resources which did not exist before him, may not unjustly bring him into a comparison with the emperor of the French.

To change the gloomy current of our visitor's thoughts, we exhibited before him some articles of British manufacture; he commended them indeed, but with the air of carelessness of one whose mind was possessed with objects of a more immediate interest. He inquired frequently whether we had on board any fire-arms or gunpowder, in the expectation that we would furnish them with at least a small supply of each. This, however, we thought proper to decline, endeavouring to make him comprehend that our stock was far from being sufficient for ourselves, under the numberless occasions we might have of self defence before we could either return to our own country, or procure farther supplies.

In the evening, when the captain was examin-

ing some charts of those seas, the chief looked earnestly over him, and begged that their island might be pointed out to him. This was done, and he expressed great pleasure in finding that even their little corner had not been omitted. When night came on, the chief requested that some covering might be provided for the natives who attended him. This was readily complied with, as we had an abundant stock of cloth of the manufacture of Otaheite. This was extremely well received; and presented to our Otaheitans an opportunity of pointing out, with no little satisfaction, all its good qualities, as well as of displaying to the strangers the vast wealth and power of their own sovereigns, Pomarrie and Otoo; the main point of their eloquence being to prove the prodigious superiority of Otaheite over all other quarters of the world. The long voyage they had accomplished in our ship was not forgotten; and on this they valued themselves highly, as giving them an infinite advantage over all other islanders.

The chief retired early to rest; but his attendants and their new friends from Otaheite, whose language, complexion, and manners, so nearly resembled their own, were too highly delighted with each other, to be prevailed on to part until after midnight.

The exiled king of these islands bears a character infinitely superior in a moral point of view at least, to that of his more powerful rival Tamahama. The fidelity of former dependants in a season of misfortune and fallen power, is surely no doubtful testimony of the virtues of a conquer-

ed king; and the virtue of this chief, if measured according to this standard, is great indeed. He appeared to be loved almost to adoration, and his authority from influence seemed to be increased almost in the same proportion as his actual power had become diminished. Is it not a phenomenon in the political world, that the greater part of all unhappy revolutions, revolts, and conquests, usually happen under such kings? Is it not to the honour of the generosity of our nature, that we are thus inclined to avail ourselves of that confidence and lenity, which always characterises power in the hands of a benevolent nature?

On the following morning we received a visit from this good king, and were welcomed very heartily by him to Attowaie. His skin was covered with a grayish scurf, probably occasioned by the immoderate use of the ava. This loathsome disease had made a greater progress on the person of this man, than on that of any other we had before seen; although at Otaheite we had met with very severe cases of the same distemper. He laboured under a great depression of spirits, and could not refrain from complaining of certain reports propagated by some Englishmen settled under his enemy Tamahama, which had prevented several vessels from touching at his island for refreshments. He declared himself to be a fast friend of the English; and produced very favourable certificates of his conduct, from several captains with whom he had dealings.

From some Englishmen who had followed his fortunes for several years, this unfortunate chief had acquired such an acquaintance with our lan-

guage, that he was able to understand and answer any plain question we put to him.

This appeared the more extraordinary, as even the natives of Otaheite, notwithstanding their greater opportunities, have hitherto made so little progress in our language, that even the proper names of those with whom they were best acquainted, are hardly to be known in their mouths. The king was as anxious as the other chief had been, to receive accounts of his enemy's motions; and equally distressed with the information we afforded, as being fully aware of the inevitable consequences of an attack by Tamahama. He brought off a present of yams, plantains, and a couple of hogs, assuring us that every thing in the island was at our disposal. He professed a high regard for the British nation; and as a proof of it, had taken to himself the name of king George, and to his children, who were numerous, he had given those of the present royal family of England, beginning with the prince of Wales, and descending to the youngest branch of the family.

In this distribution, however. some irregularities had taken place; as his information had been procured from the English residing with him, who were not over-accurate in their genealogical knowledge. His conversation repeatedly turned to his want of fire-arms and gun-powder; but we contrived to avoid making any engagements on this subject.

Observing the deep despondency into which the king's affairs had thrown him, our humanity averted from the idea of suffering him to have any

spirits or intoxicating liquors; a present he doubtless expected, though he had the singular modesty to make no mention of it.

The dilemma in which I had been involved at Otaheite with Edeah and her gallant, made me ever afterwards very cautious in this respect with the natives of these islands. Their passions are naturally impetuous; and when fed by the fuel of strong liquors, acknowledge no restraint. I know no sufficient punishment that the wretch would merit who should import a cargo of spirituous liquors into the Sandwich or Society Islands; it would in every respect be tantamount to the wilful administration of an equal quantity of poison, as the extent of the evil would only be bounded by the destruction of the whole of the population.

CHAP. XV.

STRONG ATTACHMENT OF THE NATIVES TO THEIR PRESENT SOVEREIGN.....DESPERATE RESOLUTION OF THIS MAN IN CASE OF INVASION...DEPARTURE FOR ONEHOW.

THIS unhappy man, who, from every thing we saw and heard, is well deserving of a better fate, had already suffered so much from the ambition and power of Tamahama, that he was now about to adopt one of the most extravagant resolutions that can be conceived.

The Europeans who had attached themselves to his fortunes, some of whom were carpenters,

blacksmiths, &c. were now with their offspring a numerous body. As their last resource, they were constructing a vessel suited to the attempt of a long voyage, and in the event of the expected invasion, they proposed to escape from the island, and seek a refuge from the cruelty of their enemy in some one of the islands which they have heard are interspersed in the main sea. They are wholly ignorant of the method of measuring a ship's course, or of the other necessary branches of navigation. A compass, indeed, they possess. Their intention in the first place is, to steer to the westward, in the hope of reaching some part of the coast of China: or, by keeping their wind to the southward, to fall in with Otaheite, or some other of the Society Islands. Dreadful alternative! and in fact the case is desperate, for they are well aware that resistance is in vain when once invaded. Perhaps, in the whole catalogue of human misery, there is not one more poignant, and more the object of pity to a generous mind, than that of a whole people becoming thus the victims of the ambition of one man, and, to satisfy his lust of conquest, expelled from their native home. The most pathetic pieces of poetry in any language, are the lamentations of the Spanish Moors upon their expulsion from Spain. The love of country is never understood, till we consider it as lost or endangered. I cannot speak of this unfortunate people without a melancholy involuntarily seizing on the train of my ideas.

Extravagant as this scheme of emigration may appear, in a people so destitute of the proper means for executing it, yet it is not improbable

that by such enterprises in different periods of time, the most distant islands may have been peopled, and a similar language and mode of life established in quarters which seem to have no possible means of intercourse.

In Otaheite the same means have not unfrequently been proposed for escaping from the fury of a victorious foe; as in the case of old Pomarrie, who in his distresses has repeatedly applied to European navigators to convey him to some distant spot, where, removed from the attempts of his rivals, he might live free from danger.

Even our sailors were much affected by the unhappy situation of this chief, for he was by far the most intelligent native of these seas; and the ardent affection of his dependants and subjects was an ample testimony of his worth.

During our stay in the island, he never left the ship, but ordered whatever we wanted to be brought off to us, and was obeyed with the greatest cheerfulness and punctuality. As he had made such a progress in the English language, his conversation was at once entertaining and instructive to us; and had his mind been more at ease, and his affairs in a more prosperous situation, a very advantageous connection might have been established between us.

His presence on board encouraged the islanders to bring off considerable supplies of salt, so that in a short time we made great progress in our business. When the labours of the day were over, we entertained the king, with his relation the general, and the other attendants, with a dance and song, performed by our Otaheitan na-

tives, in which Pulpit's young wife bore a principal share. As the women of the Sandwich Islands are generally of a coarse masculine appearance, and nut-brown complexion, this young Otaheitan, who was a very good sample of her countrywomen, passed for a beauty in this place. The king was himself pleased to term her a very pretty girl. On this occasion he took an opportunity of informing me that he had sent an ambassador all the way to Otaheite, to negotiate with Otoo for a wife; and observed that as we had come from thence he expected that the man would have embraced that opportunity of returning in our ship with the object of his mission. Indeed, previous to our leaving Otaheite, this man had solicited a passage home, having been unsuccessful in his application to Otoo; we assented to his wish, but the night previous to our departure he swam on shore from the ship, thus forgetting his duty and allegiance to his sovereign, through the preponderating influence of Otoo, who had seduced him from a falling cause.

The king's attendants were resolved not to be outdone on this occasion; and displayed their ingenuity in the same way, exerting themselves to the utmost for the entertainment of the company. At last our own tars, that they might contribute their proportion to the delights of the spectators, produced a violin; and one of them, who was an excellent dancer, performed a hornpipe in such perfection, that all the strangers joined in acknowledging that our music and our dancing were far superior to their own. We perceived with pleasure that these amusements seemed to afford a

temporary relief to the unhappy king; he seemed for a moment to forget his cares, and participate in the satisfaction of his subjects. Would that we could have effectually dissipated his anxiety!

As soon as we arrived on the coast of this island, we found it necessary to employ every precaution to prevent any further desertion from the ship; and being persuaded that we might count on the fidelity of Pulpit, whom we had taken on board at Ulitea, and who had already rejected all the offers of the king, who earnestly wished to retain him as an assistant, we admitted him into the cabin mess, whilst his Otaheitan lady ate with our cabin boy. This separation was not occasioned by her attachment to the customs of Otaheite, where the sexes always eat apart; but in fact the behaviour of this poor female being not always governed by what is considered as correct propriety in Europe, she was not altogether the most desirable companion at our table.

In the course of my stay at Attowaie, we had many opportunities to observe the dispositions and conduct of the king. One night, the wind increasing to a storm, we were driven out of sight of the island, and were two days in regaining our station. All this time the king expressed the greatest concern for his family and friends on shore, without seeming in any degree alarmed for himself. On returning to our former situation, it occurred to the king to make an experiment of the regard really entertained for him by the natives. When the first canoe came along side, the king concealed himself in the cabin, directing

one of his attendants to say that we had landed him on the island of Whahoo, and delivered him up as a prisoner to the authority of his grand enemy Tamahama. This canoe, belonging to the king himself, was loaded with provisions for his use; amongst which were some young dogs, esteemed in these islands a peculiar delicacy, and therefore kept for the tables of the great alone.

The dogs of the Society and Sandwich Islands are indeed very different from the same animals in Europe. They are very carefully fed, and any thing that might render their flesh coarse and strong, kept out of their way; by this means they were said rather to resemble kids than dogs, and are not unfrequently tasted by our hungry sailors.

Not seeing their master upon the deck, the islanders inquired earnestly how and where he was: being told he was now a prisoner in Whahoo, they laughed heartily at the supposed jest; but as all their countrymen on board agreed in a serious repetition of this assertion, they were struck dumb with astonishment and grief. Never was affection, never was the terror of genuine loyalty, more strongly impressed, than on the countenances of these honest subjects of an unfortunate king It was gratifying to a generous mind to witness this affectionate testimony, as well of the fidelity of the subjects, as of the worth of the chief. This was no flattery; it was the generous, the honourable impulse of an honest nature.

After some time, they recovered themselves so far as to renew their inquiries, with looks aghast

with terror. They eagerly demanded how this disaster had happened; at the same time condemning themselves for suffering him to remain on board the ship, and be exposed to such a misfortune. When their despair was wrought to the highest pitch, the poor king, who witnessed the whole scene, could no longer contain his feeling; but running upon deck, showed himself to the natives, reproaching them kindly for so readily believing that we could have so betrayed him into the hands of enemies. The sudden transition from grief to joy produced the most lively and affecting change on these faithful creatures. We could not however so far recover them from their terrors, as not to intreat the king to leave the ship, that he might not be again driven from the island, and exposed to some serious accident. To this he goodnaturedly agreed; and was preparing to leave our vessel, when a large double canoe came along side with an European on board.

His errand was to acquaint the king, that a report having reached the island of his having fallen into the hands of Tamahama, the inhabitants were become disorderly, and that nothing but his appearance amongst them could restore tranquillity. The good king now appeared, and it must be confessed with good reason, much happier than before; he seemed to collect new hope from this testimony of the love of his people, and to forget all his danger in the pleasing reflection that he was thus beloved. I am persuaded that animated with this love for their chief, had the numbers of this good people been even in a small degree more proportionable to that of their ene-

my, even the warlike Tamahama would not have found them an easy conquest. But their strength is too unequal to indulge any expectation of even safety in resistance. They have indeed but one resource left, that of flight in their new built ship: and desperate, and apparently chimerical as this is, it promises more success than the chance of war.

His immediate departure being now indispensable, I inquired what we could do to express our sense of his many favours? To this he answered, that if we really were his good friends, we would supply him with whatever we could conveniently spare of iron, canvas, and other necessaries for his new vessel.

Having a good stock of iron, I furnished him with as much as he thought sufficient for his purpose, together with some tools, axes, &c.; crowning our presents with a few looking-glasses, a quantity of English cloth, and a small supply of gunpowder.

These articles this good man accepted with the most affecting demonstration of genuine heartfelt gratitude; and entering his canoe, he requested us on our return home to mention his hard fate to our countrymen; he concluded with pouring out benedictions upon us, and at length, having finished his adieus, he rowed for the shore with the greatest dispatch.

The melancholy fate of this chief, his strange reverse of fortune, and the dismal prospects still awaiting him, joined to the goodness of his conduct and character, had completely enlisted us

on his side; and we could not but earnestly hope, that he might in the event triumph over his grand enemy Tamahama.

We almost regretted that captain Vancouvre had ever touched at the island of Tamahama; as from his assistance principally had this chief obtained that addition to his former strength, which, improved by his uncommon talents, had enabled him to become a conqueror and usurper. Had captain Vancouvre foreseen the consequence of his encouragement of this ambitious chief, I am persuaded he would have received the advances of Tamahama in a very different manner; but we are all blind instruments in the hands of an overruling Providence, and it is some consolation that all this is not without some purpose of good, though it may exceed our powers to comprehend it.

We had now procured a good stock of salt, but not sufficient to answer our purpose; and having come so far, we were very unwilling to return without the completion of our plan. We had now no resource left, but to return to one or other of the islands under the command of Tamahama. We were already aware of the difficulty of procuring ship provisions in the islands belonging to this chief, not only on account of the high price required by the natives, but that no articles would be received in exchange but precisely such as the sellers should choose. To obviate as much as was practicable these difficulties, we bore up for Onehow, the other small island still remaining faithful to the rightful king of Attowaie; who, previously knowing our intention

offered to accompany us in person; but it appearing more prudent that he should remain for the present where he was, he dispatched a messenger before us to Onehow, informing the natives of our intended visit, and directing them to treat us with every attention, and supply our wants.

This notice produced its full effect; for on our making the island, the natives flocked off to us, furnishing abundance of yams at a very moderate value; we there also laid in a small addition to our stock of salt. Here, as at the other islands, all were eager to be admitted on board; but the notion of our ship being a man of war, and the formidable appearance of our marines, kept them in awe. We received none in the ship but one of the king's deputies, and, through the interest of this great man, two other chiefs. We found, from the language of these persons, as also of the other natives, that they were stedfastly attached to their lawful king, and determined so to remain, although they had but little hope of being able to withstand the attacks of their common enemy Tamahama.

CHAP. XIV.

LEAVE THE LEEWARD ISLANDS, AND PROCEED TO WINDWARD....ARRIVAL AT OWHYHEE ...COMMENCE TRADING....VISITED BY MR. YOUNG.

HAVING in the course of four days collected about three tons of yams, an invaluable treasure to us in such circumstances, we set sail to the eastwards for Owhyhee, and there renewed our intercourse with the natives, who, as has been already mentioned, were complete masters of their business. Every article we wanted was at least three times, many of them six times, the price they would have borne at the island we had just left.

Soon after our arrival we received a visit from our countryman, Mr. Young, who had resided there for fourteen years past; from whom we had a confirmation of the particulars respecting Tamahama communicated to us at Whahoo, and of his erecting a royal residence at Mouie, and, above all, of his fixed determination to attempt the conquest of the two other islands, Attowaie and Onehow.

His palace is built after the European stile, of brick, and glazed windows, having European and American artificers about him of almost every description. Indeed his own subjects, from their intercourse with Europeans, have ac-

quired a great knowledge of several of the mechanical arts, and have thus enabled him to increase his navy, a very favourite object with him. I have no doubt that in a very few years he will erect amongst these islands a power very far from despicable.

The circumstances of this enterprising chief were greatly changed since the visit of captain Vancouvre, to whom, as to the servant and representative of the king of Great Britain, with much formality and ceremony, he had made a conveyance of the sovereignty of Owhyhee, in the hopes of being thus more strongly confirmed in his authority, and supplied with the means of resisting his enemies.

His dominion seems now to be completely established. He is not only a great warrior and politician, but a very acurate trader, and a match for any European in driving a bargain. He is well acquainted with the different weights and measures, and the value which all articles ought to bear in exchange with each other; and is ever ready to take the advantage of the necessities of those who apply to him or his people for supplies.

His subjects have already made considerable progress in civilization; but are held in the most abject submission, as Tamahama is inflexible in punishing all offences which seem to counteract his supreme command.

It was only in 1792 that captain Vancouvre laid down the keel of Tamahama's first vessel, or rather craft; but so assiduously has he applied himself to effect his grand and favourite object, the establishment of a naval force, that at the pe-

riod of our arrival he had upwards of twenty vessels of different sizes, from twenty-five to fifty tons; some of them were even copper-bottomed.

He was, however, at this time much in want of naval stores; and, to have his navy quickly placed on a respectable footing, would pay well for them. He has also a certain number of body-guards to attend him, independently of the number of chiefs who are required to accompany him on all his journies and expeditions.

In viewing this man, my imagination suggested to me that I beheld in its first progress one of those extraordinary natures which, under other circumstances of fortune and situation, would have ripened into the future hero, and caused the world to resound with his feats of glory. What other was Philip of Macedon, as pictured by the Grecian historians? a man who overcame every disadvantage of slight resources and powerful rivals, and extended the narrow sovereignty of Macedon into a universal monarchy of Greece, and the known world.

Some convicts from Botany Bay, having effected their escape to the Sandwich Islands, rendered themselves at first serviceable to Tamahama, and, in recompence, were put in possession of small portions of land for cultivation. On these they raised some sugar-canes, and at last contrived to distil a sort of spirit, with which they entertained each other by turns, keeping birth-days and other holidays; until Tamahama, finding that such festivities greatly retarded his work, made some gentle representations on the subject.

This lenity, however, producing no good effect,

but the drinking, idleness, and quarrels among the new settlers, seeming rather to become more frequent than before, and their insolence being carried so far as to insult and maltreat many of the natives, Tamahama gave the strangers to understand, that in their next fighting-party he would make one of the company, and see who could best acquit himself on the occasion. This hint produced the desired effect: the Botany Bay settlers were soon brought into complete submission, and a due sense of their situation.

These particulars were collected from Mr. Young; a man of strict veracity, who, having been long in the country, had the best opportunities to know the truth. He has been long in the confidence of Tamahama, whose fortunes he has constantly followed from the beginning, and who gives him daily proofs of the sincerity of his attachment. He added, that for several years Tamahama had adopted it as a rule, to request from all Europeans who touched within his dominions, a certificate or testimonial of his good conduct towards them; but that now considering his character for honesty and civility to be established, he no longer deems such certificates of any important use.

Tamahama's ardent desire to obtain a ship from captain Vancouvre, was in all probability first excited by the suggestions of Young and his countryman Davis: but such was the effect of this undertaking, that Tamahama became immediately more sparing of his visits on board the Discovery; his time being now chiefly employed in attending to the carpenters at work on this new

man of war, which, when finished, was named the Britannia. This was the beginning of Tamahama's navy; and from his own observations, with the assistance of Messrs. Young, Davis, &c. he has laboured inflexibly in improving his marine force, until he has brought it to its present perfection; securing to him not only a decided superiority over the frail canoes of his neighbours, but the means of transporting his warriors to distant parts. Some of his vessels are employed as transports in carrying provisions from one island to another to supply his warriors; whilst the largest are used as men of war, and are occasionally mounted with a few light guns. No one better understands his interest than this ambitious chief: no one better knows how to improve an original idea. The favours of Vancouvre, and his other European benefactors, would have been thrown away on any other savage; but Tamahama possesses a genius above his situation.

His body guards, who may be considered in some respects as regularly disciplined troops, go on duty and relieve each other as in Europe, calling out all is well at every half-hour, as on board ship. Their uniform at this time was simply a blue great-coat with yellow facings.

With other things which Tamahama has learned by intercourse with Europeans, he has acquired a relish for our spirits, so that some navigators have exchanged their rum with him to very good account; sometimes when his stock of liquor is exhausted, he employs the Europeans settled in his dominions to extract spirits from the sugar canes which grow there of an ex-

cellent quality. When Tamahama means to relax from his serious occupations, he invites his own wives and those of his chiefs to share his regale of spirits, which in its operation seldom fails to create disputes and even quarrels among the ladies, to the great entertainment of the master of the feast and the other male guests.

The natives of the Sandwich Islands are in every respect much more ingenious, and much further advanced in the knowledge of the useful arts of life, than those of Otaheite. It is true that the former are excelled by the latter in the manufacture of cloth; but the spears, clubs, mats, calibashes, fish-hooks, and other implements of the Sandwich Islanders, are far superior to similar articles made in Otaheite, whose inhabitants are not much regarded by their northern neighbours. The natives of Bollabola, on the contrary, are esteemed by the natives of the Sandwich Islands as the bravest and most expert warriors of the Society Islands; every thing being good, according to their adage, that comes from Bollabola. A number of the Sandwich islanders have at different periods passed to Otaheite, where they find every encouragement to settle from the young king Otoo, who, from their superior skill and warlike disposition, generally prefers them as the attendants on his person.

During our stay at Attowaic, one of these Sandwhich Islands, we observed the king and his fighting general made use of spitting boxes inlaid with the teeth of their enemies slain in battle; and this practice, joined to other cir-

cumstances, observed at the time of their being discovered by captain Cook, leads to the belief that human beings were not unfrequently their food. Indeed they were confessedly canibals at the time of their discovery.

The Sandwich Islands are extremely well peopled, all circumstances of their nature and fertility being considered : and the women, according to Mr. Young's account, are said to be more numerous than the men : whereas in Otaheite the women are not reckoned to amount to more than one tenth part of the population.

The striking difference in the population of these two spots may in a great measure be imputed to the absence from Owhyhee of the horrid practice of infant murder. This increased population of the Sandwich Islands has had one good effect; it has compelled the natives to exert themselves in assisting nature by the more careful cultivation of the soil, and other branches of industry. The tarra, yam, and sweet potatoe, are productions common to all the islands; but are found in the greatest plenty in those which lie to leeward, and are cheapest in Attowaie and Onehow from whence we took on board three tons of yams, and twenty hogs; articles which would have cost a considerable sum in any of the islands subject to Tamahama. These islands also produce most of the tropical fruits; melons, shaddocks, pompions, plantains, and bananas, are here in great abundance. They likewise furnish Indian corn, but not in a great quantity. The sugar-canes are here of excellent quality. The mountain plantain

is of the greatest service to the natives; for with these, some cocoa-nut water, and a little mahie (a little sour paste made of the bread-fruit when ripe) well beat up together, they make a dish called pop poye, eaten by all ranks from the king to the lowest of the inhabitants. The same food is universally used in Otaheite.

CHAP. XV.

ENTERPRISING SPIRIT OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDERS....KNOWLEDGE OF OUR LANGUAGE....DEXTERITY IN DIVING....DESERTION OF THE OTAHEITAN NATIVES....TAMAHAMA'S INTENTION OF OPENING A TRADE WITH CHINA.

THE Sandwich islanders in the dominions of Tamahama, frequently make voyages to the north-west coast of America, and thereby acquire sufficient property to make themselves easy and comfortable, as well as respectable among their countrymen; to whom, on their return home, they are fond of describing with great emphasis and extravagance the singular events of their voyage. Several of them have made considerable progress in the English language; their intercourse with the Anglo-Americans, and the navigators from Britain having given them the opportunity, of which they have so eagerly availed themselves.

The canoes of the Sandwich Islands far surpassed any that we had seen in other parts of the world; not only in solidity and strength, but in the neatness and skill of workmanship. These

canoes are so well calculated for speed, that we have seen the natives work them along with their short paddles at the rate of eleven or twelve miles in an hour, and fairly run them under water.

Although they have these excellent canoes in abundance, the natives, both men and women, often dispense with the use of them, and swim to vessels approaching the island, with no other support than a thin feather-edged slice of wood: with these they play a thousand tricks, tumbling and plunging one another into the water, then rising to the surface and plunging again, like so many inhabitants of the deep.

Their fondness for the water is indeed singular. They may be sometimes seen extended and lolling indolently on the water for the whole day, without any occupation, and as much at their ease as if it was their native element. Instances are very rare, I believe, of the Sandwich Islanders being drowned; their boldness and dexterity in diving is perhaps unrivalled in any part of the world. Some of them who were employed by us to assist in certain operations in the ship, would dive in fifteen fathoms of water, and clear the cable, however entangled in the jagged rocks at the bottom.

I have heard from Mr. Young, that Tamahama, in the early part of his career, being one day on board, requested of the captain an anvil, an article of which he stood in great need. To have a specimen of the spirit and skill of the natives, Tamahama was told that he should have one on the condition that his divers should simply bear it up in ten fathoms water. To this he

instantly agreed, and the anvil was thrown into the sea. Tamahama immediately sent some of his people down after it, expecting to raise it without difficulty; but they found it somewhat too heavy. Unwilling however to abandon so great a treasure, they continued their efforts, and, after long and repeated exertions, succeeded in rolling the anvil along the bottom of the sea, for about half a mile, relieving each other alternately till they gained the beach, and were received by their countrymen with the loudest applause.

These and similar exertions, although never declined by the divers, are often attended with dangerous consequences to their health. On their reappearing on the surface of the water, we observed their faces to be greatly swelled, their eyes red and inflamed, and blood discharging profusely from their nose and ears.

In a short time, however, they recover their usual state, and are ready to repeat the same exertion, and incur the same or greater injury. The only precautions employed by them on these occasions, are to close the apertures of the body, as if to prevent the entrance of the water.

To shew their wonderful expertness in diving, they would sometimes go aloft to our top-gallant yard, then plunge into the water, pass under the ship's bottom, and again appear on the opposite side tumbling and sporting like so many water-fowl. We once attempted to turn this qualification to advantage, by employing some of the natives to nail parts of the coppor sheeting on the ship's bottom. They would remain not less than three

or four minutes under the water, come up to the surface to breathe, and return to their work. This, had we not witnessed, we should not readily have believed.

Both sexes are strong, hardy, and capable of enduring great fatigue. During our stay amongst them, the natives of Otaheite on board, struck probably with the lively manners of the people, and the appearance of the country, availed themselves of a dark night to slip down the ship's side, and swam unperceived to the shore. They soon, however, discovered that they were not in Otaheite; for in the Sandwich Islands none are permitted to be idle, but all must labour for a subsistence. This kind of life was not to the taste of the Otaheitans; they embraced the first opportunity to return to their native island, and arrived there soon after our return. With them likewise returned to Otaheite our carpenter, who as has been mentioned, had deserted from us a short time after we had reached the Sandwich Islands.

An intercourse between these islands and Otaheite may be of signal service to the latter island; as the natives of the former are well acquainted with the cultivation of the ground, and many other useful and ingenious arts to which the Otaheitans are almost entire strangers. Since the discovery of the Sandwich Islands by captain Cook, who so unfortunately lost his life on one of them (Owhyhee) the natives, who constantly lament his untimely fate, have made rapid progress in many mechanical arts; and in the course of a few years more, they confidently hope to be in a condition

to open a trade with China in vessels of their own construction, and navigated by their own people.

They are already well acquainted with trade on the north-west coast of America; and from thence they may draw many articles to make up their cargo for their own country, or the neighbouring islands to the westward.

It may naturally be asked, what articles of commerce or barter can be possessed by the Sandwich Islanders, a people just sprung from nature? The answer is at hand; they are able to furnish fire-arms, gun-powder, hardware, and cloth of different sorts; of all of which Tamahama has accumulated more than what is required for their own consumption.

These have been acquired in the exchange for labour and refreshments supplied to the shipping who have touched there; particularly such as are engaged in the trade to the north-west parts of America. When the cargoes of these last are completed, they readily part with such articles as remain at a very low rate, rather than be incumbered with them during the remainder of their voyage. Besides the above-mentioned articles of foreign introduction, the Sandwich islanders possess the sandal-wood, pearl oyster-shell, and some pearls, all articles of high value in the China market. One difficulty, however, still remains to their accomplishment of this object, which is their want of hands to navigate the ships on voyages of such length and intricasy. Fortunately however for these enterprising islanders, there are now resident among them several Europeans and Anglo-Americans, men of ability and knowledge;

such are Mr. Young, Mr. Davis, captain Stewart, &c. &c. For twelve or fourteen years before our visit, these gentlemen had employed themselves successfully in instructing the natives, and their extraordinary chief Tamahama, in many useful arts, and particularly in that of navigation from island to island, so that many of the inhabitants have thus become brave, hardy, and not inexpereinced sailors.

In the commencement of their trading expeditions, the Europeans would no doubt be entrusted with the command, but the islanders, from their ardour to learn, and capacity for instruction, would soon themselves be in a condition to take the charge of the vessels and cargo. It may perhaps be supposed that the king would be unwilling to entrust these vessels, property, and persons, to the Europeans and Americans residing among them, lest they should carry them to some distant part of the world, and then either wholly abandon them, or appropriate the profits to their own advantage. But of this there is little danger; as, independently of the good conduct hitherto evinced by these strangers, and their consequent good character in the islands, almost all of them have married in the country, and have a numerous offspring to whom they are powerfully attached, and have besides renounced all idea of ever returning to their native land.

This barter, or carrying-trade, between China and the north-west coast of America, would soon enrich the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, and their wants and desires for the luxuries as

well as the conveniences of life would speedily increase; an opening would thus be made for the introduction of the arts, the manners, the improvements, and knowledge, of civilized Europe.

CHAP. XVI.

HINT TO THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY....DEPARTURE FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS....PASSAGE TO THE SOUTHWARD....SUSPICIOUS BEHAVIOUR OF THE NATIVES.

THE Missionary Society might perhaps find it answer their purposes, to turn their attention to that quarter where, in my humble opinion, their benevolent efforts are more likely to prove successful than in Otaheite. The Otaheitants are indeed apparently softer in their manners than the northern islanders, but they are far behind the latter in their skill in the arts of life, and in their desire to acquire instruction of every kind.

Indeed, from certain events that took place on their being discovered, and particularly from the lamented fate of the great Cook, the Sandwich Islanders have generally been regarded as a race of savage barbarians. The truth, however, is, as has been already noticed, that many of the horrible practices of the more amiable Otaheitans, such as infant murder, &c. &c. are unknown amongst them; and the fatal accident which befel Cook, is to this day deeply and generally deplored.

Their eager and insatiable curiosity to observe and understand whatever is doing by the Europeans, unrestrained by any of those considerations of propriety which influence civilized nations, has had a tendency to draw on them the character of rude and uncultivated men: but let it be considered that this curiosity and ardour are not the effects of childish ignorance, but are produced by the most decided anxiety to learn whatever they see done: their seemingly rude behaviour will then be forgiven.

Should the Missionary Society adopt this hint, and make the experiment, I have no doubt that land might be easily procured as a grant, or as a purchase. Tamahama is perfectly acquainted with the nature of a bargain, in the European sense of the term, and would conform rigidly to the conditions; differing in this, as well as in many other respects, from certain chiefs in Otaheite. The latter are constantly endeavouring to extort fresh remuneration from the missionaries there, whom they seem to regard only as strangers suffered to remain amongst them during their good pleasure.

Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands would moreover experience every aid from the resident Europeans. This is another great advantage over their countrymen in Otaheite and the Tongataboo. From the first arrival of the Otaheitan missionaries, they were exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers from their own countrymen. Some desperadoes of Europe, at that time residing among the natives, instead of assisting these worthy men in their forlorn situation, they

took a malicious pleasure in counteracting their efforts on all occasions, misrepresenting their views, and endeavouring to stir up the natives to outrage and violence. Young, Davis, and Stewart, would, on the contrary, be of infinite use in the Sandwich Islands; they would negotiate between the missionaries and the natives; and, being men of probity and character, in full possession of the confidence of Tamahama, their good offices could not fail of effect. I am persuaded that a simple application would not fail to secure their most strenuous efforts.

As a proof of the fidelity with which Tamahama fulfils his engagements, I may mention that of the cattle introduced by captain Vancouvre; the terms were said to be, that none were to be touched for a certain number of years. This condition has been rigidly preserved till that time expired, and these animals have in consequence become so wild, that none of the natives dare approach them. So that, ranging at their full liberty, they have destroyed the fences, trampled down the crops, and done much other damage. Though the inhabitants themselves have frequently suffered thus severely from their incursions, they have rigidly adhered to the condition of the original gift.

Owhyhee may be seen, in fine weather, at the distance of forty leagues out at sea; containing two very lofty mountains, Mouna Roa, and Mouna Kaa, whose summits are generally enveloped in clouds and vapours.

A few days before we left the bay of Karakakooa, seven spermaceti whales passed within half a mile of the ship, rolling along very deli-

berately to the eastward. Had any of our South Sea whalers been there at the time, there might have been excellent sport, and no very unprofitable employment; probably not less than two thousand pounds value for the day's work.

Having now accomplished the object for which we had visited the Sandwich Islands, that of laying in a stock of salt, we took in a sufficient supply of water; for this we were compelled to pay a most unreasonable charge, being obliged to employ the natives, as our own people would most probably have seized the opportunity of deserting.

In the evening of the twenty-first of January, 1803, we weighed and stood away along the shore, to the eastward. In this course we had a very full view of some eruptions from the volcanoes in the centre of the island of Owhyhee. With a favourable wind and clear weather, we briskly proceeded on our return to Otaheite.

On the eleventh of February we made a small island called Mangee, which appeared very productive, as we observed on the shore a great abundance of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. This island is probably well peopled, but as night was coming on, we had no communication with the natives. As the night approached, but before it was yet dark, observing several canoes employed in fishing, we hove to, in the expectation that they would approach; as further encouragement for them to do so, we showed them a number of lights from the ship, when to our amazement the whole shore was almost instantaneously illuminated, and this with as much regularity as

if the intervals between the lights or fires had been carefully measured. No canoes however coming off to us, we made sail to the southward, being now considerably to the leeward of all the Society Islands.

In running across these seas we fell in with several low islands, some of which we have reason to believe, had never before been visited by Europeans. Such of the natives of these straggling islands as came within our observation, seemed to be an artful insinuating race; we found them at the same time to be both treacherous and barbarous. When we came near to these islands, the captain from curiosity went in the boat to have a near view of the country; but on reaching the shore, the natives gave such indications of artifice and cunning, that he did not think it prudent to land. They were all armed with spears and other offensive weapons. As the boat approached the shore, the women withdrew and retired up the country, a practice seldom used amongst savage nations but when hostilities are expected to take place. The captain however threw on shore a few nails and other trifles; and the natives in return sent of to the boat a few of the feathers of the Tropic bird, fastened to the end of a long bamboo.

These islanders were of a complexion darker by some shades than the natives of Otaheite: and much thinner and less cleanly in their persons. Their long shaggy hair was twisted together like a mat. The captain concluded that they must be very ill supplied with fresh water, as the highest part of the island did not appear more than six

feet above the surface of the sea. Their chief food, as he supposed, must be fish and roots, as no bread-fruit nor cocoa-nut trees were to be seen on any part of the island.

We afterwards came to another island, having in the middle of it a large lagoon, which we could discover from the mast head. My curiosity prompting me to examine this singular spot I went on shore, but found great difficulty in landing, as the shore appeared to be surrounded with a reef of rocks in every place, excepting towards the leewardmost end, where was a narrow channel not more than twenty yards across, through which the lagoon discharged itself into the sea.

Upon coming to this spot, the tide ran out so strong, that the boat could not stem the current; we therefore landed as near as was possible to this channel, and sent off two of the people, one of them a Sandwich Islander, to discover whether the island was inhabited. I remained with the others of the boat's crew on the shore, in the expectation of their return, but as they staid much longer than I had expected, I began to apprehend that some accident had befallen them. As the ship was near the land, I was in the act of putting off to her to procure some fire arms, having neglected to bring any with us, when our two men made their appearance, and waded up to their necks to get to the boat.

I demanded of them if they had effected any intercourse with the natives, or had even seen any, for we had ourselves as yet discovered none. They said that they had seen and spoken with

the islanders, and that they had strongly solicited them to accompany them up the country. As our men were both without the spears which they had carried from the boat, I inquired what was become of them, and was informed that the natives had made them understand by signs their wish to examine these weapons; but when they had once got them into their possession, they objected to restore them.

Upon this information I resolved to attempt to open an intercourse with them, but as a necessary precaution returned to the ship for fire-arms; and this being obtained, together with a new addition to the number of my men, I returned to the shore. Our two scouts gave a very favourable account of the natives, saying they appeared kind and friendly. I therefore carried back the Sandwich Islander, to serve, if possible, as an interpreter between the natives and me.

On our reaching the entrance of the channel to the lagoon, the tide had slackened so much that we were able to pull the boat against the tide. By so doing we got forward more commodiously than we could have done by land, as the ground was overrun with a thick underwood, which would have rendered our progress both tedious and irksome. By going on the water we were also out of the immediate power of the natives, who could neither surprise, nor mislead us, had such been their intention.

Upon gaining the inner end of this channel, we found the current no longer running outwards, but discharging itself into the lagoon with a rapidity equal to that of the Thames under London

bridge. The narrow inlet now resembled a mill-race; and we were so engaged in it, that we had no alternative, but either to run forward through it, or incur the risk of being dashed to pieces on the coral rocks which lined the sides. In our way through this inlet the boat made two or three heavy plunges, which filled her more than half full with water; the helm lost all influence, and the eddy whirled us round with great rapidity. This anxious and hazardous situation lasted about two minutes, when at length we arrived without injury in the lagoon, and proceeded forward in quest of the natives; we expected that they would before this have again made their appearance, as they must have witnessed all our motions.

When we had advanced a short way, we discovered five or six who had left that part of the shore where we had first landed, and were moving up the country with all speed. Upon this I put the boat's head in shore that I might if possible get before them, and thus effect an interview. The natives, however, perhaps discovering our intention, quickened their pace, as if they either dreaded or disregarded any such intercourse; and were a full quarter of a mile before us, before we could reach the shore of the lagoon. That they might not be alarmed at our numbers or arms, I landed only the two men they had formerly seen, who hailed them in the Otaheitan language and manner, to induce them to stop.

This at last produced the desired effect, and our two men got up to them; the other two with myself still remaining in the boat, and following at a distance. As our men on shore drew

near, the natives again began to move forwards, but so slowly that they were at last overtaken.

They now appeared to enter into conversation with our two interpreters, one a native of the Sandwich Islands, and the other a sailor who understood and spoke fluently the language of Otaheite. This appearance of intercourse gave me great pleasure, as the natives would thus learn that our views in coming to their island were friendly, and might be advantageous. We continued at some distance in expectation of the signal to advance; but as no such signal was made by our people, and as they and the natives again moved forwards, I began to apprehend some ambush or other treachery on the part of the islanders.

The day was now declining, and we had been drawn a considerable way up the lagoon; we were moreover aware that, upon our return, we might be exposed to the same, if not greater dangers, as upon our entrance, and more particularly as it would be then dark: I therefore made a signal for our men to return to the boat, but, instead of obeying, they beckoned to us to advance.

Concluding that matters were now in a favourable way, we pulled up as fast as possible; and when we arrived abreast of them, our two men walked gently down to the water's edge, without saying a word more to the natives.

The sailor, on coming up to me, shook his head very significantly; and the Sandwich Islander said he believed the natives were canibals, applying his arm to his teeth, and showing as if he bit his flesh. It has been already mentioned, that on the

first visit the natives had cajoled these men out of their spears; and on this occasion they had obtained their necklaces and ear drops (the sailor being dressed in all respects like an inhabitant of Otaheite.) The natives, to the number of eight, were all this time standing on the bank of the lagoon, apparently in doubt whether they should venture to approach us. In order to encourage them, I held up to their view some looking-glasses, knives, scissars, and sundry other articles; at all which they looked with great attention, but still remained unmoved. At last one of them ventured to come down to the stern of the boat, which now lay close to the land, ready to start, if necessary, at a moment's warning.

This man, who seemed to be the stoutest of the party, displayed a most curious mixture of fear and cunning, while he reached out one hand to receive a looking glass in exchange for a pearl gorget which he held in the other. His manner gave me such a distrust of his intentions, that I thought it prudent to secure myself by one hand to the boat, lest in making this transfer he should attempt to drag me out of it. This, however, he did not venture, but made off speedily to his countrymen with his prize, the only one I have reason to believe in the whole island.

Notwithstanding this man's sudden departure I continued to hold up as before sundry articles, that might if possible induce more of them to approach. None of them however showed any inclination to such intercourse, remaining at a distance with a wild stare of amazement, not unmixed, as I thought, with an air of artifice.

Had I been disposed to have inflicted any punishment on these poor savages for their treachery in plundering our interpreters, it would have been easy for us to have killed, or at least severely wounded them, so that they and their descendants would not have forgotten our visit for many years. But compassionating their ignorant and uncultivated state, and knowing that they were not worse than all the other islanders of the Pacific Ocean, I suffered them to pass unpunished. Every act of theft is not to be punished by shooting the offender through the head. The great guns are not to be discharged into a promiscuous crowd upon every petty disturbance. This is certainly as bad policy as it is humanity ; and if these people know what murder is, it cannot much exalt us in their esteem that we regard it so lightly.

To show them, however, that their lives were in our power, even while they remained at what they naturally deemed a secure distance, I fired a pistol in the air. The report frightened these poor creatures so much that they dropped down amongst the grass as if they had been really shot, and never attempted to move till the boat had been put off from the shore.

CHAP. XVII.

CRITICAL SITUATION....FORTUNATE ESCAPE.

So much time had been lost in these different proceedings, that I began to fear we should have some difficulty in finding our way out of the lagoon; we therefore made all haste back to the entrance, but it was dark long before we reached it, and we found ourselves involved in a vortex, which whirled us into a kind of channel somewhat beyond that by which we had entered; nor did we perceive our situation until, having proceeded about half-way along this channel, the boat took the ground.

Our people immediately jumped out of the boat, and tried to track her into the proper channel; no such passage however, could be found, for ahead the boat was quite dry. We had, therefore, no choice left but to put back and take a fresh departure, when in an instant we were again swept away within the lagoon, and whirled round as before with great rapidity. The tide, it seems, had changed at the very time when we were endeavouring to discover another channel. We now found ourselves completely bewildered, as the tide made up with such strength that it was impossible for us to stem it with our oars. Our situation now became dangerous and critical, and the greatest caution was therefore necessary.

I made the people once more get out, and track the boat along the edge of the reef until we got to the top, which terminated in a sharp point, and then doubled the corner, by which means we hoped to be free from the danger of similar accidents. The men, equally anxious with myself, exerted themselves to the utmost; but the rocky reef on which they walked was composed of parts as sharp as flints, which severely injured their feet; and at almost every second step they found themselves up to the middle, often up to the neck, in the water.

It was now extremely dark, but fortunately we had discovered the ship's lights over the narrow belt of land between the lagoon and the sea; a sight which not only helped to keep up our spirits in these embarrassing circumstances, but to guide us in our search for a proper issue from the lagoon. The boat's crew continued, in spite of every difficulty, to drag her along the reef, until they could no longer endure the fatigue and pain of these arduous efforts. The tide had by this time begun to set into the lagoon in its greatest strength, for these reasons I judged it safest to bring the boat to anchor alongside the reef, setting up a land-mark to direct us in our course when the moon should rise, which we calculated to be about half past ten.

It was now between seven and eight o'clock, and the interval was beyond description distressing. We lay in a most perilous situation, surrounded with a savage race, suspected to be canibals. The imaginations of our people were filled with the most dismal apprehensions, and

several began absolutely to despair of ever returning to the ship. It seemed indeed impossible that the boat should escape from the lagoon without being sunk or dashed to pieces; and if the crew survived such an event, they must doubtless have fallen into the hands of the inhabitants, never to be rescued. In this manner had each his different opinion as to the fate awaiting us, but not one of us entertained any very sanguine hope.

At length the long wished moon appeared, but half an hour later than we had reckoned, when we discovered ourselves to be about two hundred yards from the gut of the lagoon. Upon reaching this spot the tide was running gently. Turning the sharp corner of the reef, we immediately found ourselves in the proper channel, a relief for which our thankfulness is not to be expressed. Had the natives known our situation, and been disposed to take advantage of it, we might easily have been cut off, the channel by which we had returned being in its widest part not more than twenty yards across. But either they imagined us to have got off before it became dark, or had become afraid of us from the discharge of the pistol. One effect of this adventure was, that it considerably abated my ardour for enterprises of such a nature without previously making all due inquiries.

We passed safely through the inlet to the sea, and within half an hour found ourselves amongst our shipmates on board, who had become extremely uneasy concerning us.

Our two interpreters informed us that the natives of this island understood but very imperfect-

ly the language of Otaheite; but that they seemed to have some notion of the existence of such an island, which they supposed to be ten times larger than its actual magnitude. They had also a confused idea of Pomarrie and his authority in Otaheite, and supposed him to be a person of huge stature, in which they were not entirely mistaken. How these detached islanders came to have these notions it is not easy to conceive; but they may have been acquired from the natives of some other islands, driven thither by stress of weather.

These lagoon islands are most striking instances of the infinite power and wisdom of the great Architect of the Universe; who has so arranged its materials, that the sea should be forced from its proper bed, to make room for the elevation of a narrow barrier to enclose these portions of the deep. The prospect of this very curious spot so strongly affected me, that, whilst waiting for our people, who had gone up the country, I involuntarily uttered a kind of inward ejaculation, "How wonderful are all thy works, O Lord, and thy ways past finding out!"

This part of the Pacific has been termed by navigators the Labyrinth; and I think, most properly, for the navigation is dangerous in the extreme. Here I cannot but observe, that had it pleased the great Architect of Nature in the plan of creation to have raised this part of the world but a few hundred fathoms from its present level, we should most probably have been furnished with countries of vast extent, and islands innu-

merable, which at present lay concealed but a short distance from its surface.

The ridge or narrow border of land surrounding the lagoon of this island, as far as I could observe, seemed in its broadest part to be only about two hundred yards across, in many places much narrower, and in no place more than eight feet above the level of the sea. No indications of the bread-fruit came within our observation, but here and there might be seen a dozen or more of cocoa-nut trees; half of them, however, were without tops, these having been probably broken off by the wind. I hence concluded, that it must at times blow very hard in this spot, for I never observed the same appearance in any of the Society Islands.

The lagoon, in the centre, seemed to be about six or seven miles across, and not less than twelve or fourteen in length: the whole interior being one continued sheet of water, and seemingly very deep. As we entered from the sea, we saw a canoe in it about two miles before us; it was paddling with all speed towards the shore: this was most probably to escape from us, as the people left it the moment they reached the land.

At the spot where we first touched, we found a few dried fish, shark's heads, and two turtle shells, hanging up in a sort of maria, as an offering to the god of the natives.

There, also, we saw a few miserable huts, made of a kind of cocoa-nut matting, but saw none of the inhabitants, who had probably retired to a distance on seeing us land. In some places the ground was burrowed by certain ani-

mals, and part seemed to have been done that morning. The natives, as far as could be judged from our short intercourse with them, appear to be of the same race with those of the islands lying more to the eastward (wild and barbarous) who had been visited by the Captain; and some shades darker than those of Otaheite. Their appearance was loathsome and forbidding; and excepting what subsistence they can draw from the sea and the lagoon, with a few cocoa-nuts and roots, they seem deprived by nature of all other means of support. By what means they procure water we could not discover: and the population must of necessity be very scanty. We saw only eight natives all the time we were in the island. As far as we know, we were the first Europeans who had trodden this inhospitable spot.

At another island that fell in our way, far to the westward of the other, we were visited by about a dozen canoes with one native in each. They brought off nothing for barter, but appeared to have been solely attracted by curiosity to survey the ship and people; no common spectacle in those parts of the world. They continued for some time near us, staring with wild amazement at every thing before them; but no endeavours on our part could prevail on any of them to come on board: we found, however, that their language was quite unintelligible to all our people. They accepted some of our trinkets, but seemed to set very little value on them. They were all completely in a state of nudity, excepting a small tuft of grass hanging down before the middle. Their countenance and manners had a very wild expres-

sion, and they were of a darker hue than any of the same race we had before seen; their persons were thin and meagre, their hair was thick and shaggy, and their bodies appeared to be covered with filth, and extremely forbidding. This island was a low, flat, sandy spot, like many others in this part of the world, having on it a few cocoa-nut trees, but giving few signs of any other vegetation. The food of the inhabitants must, probably, be fish, a never-failing article in the Pacific Ocean, with perhaps a few miserable roots, or other vegetable productions. It was our opinion that these islanders had never before seen any Europeans, otherwise they would have been more ready to court our acquaintance; particularly had they once known the use and value of the articles of iron manufacture, which they might have hoped to procure from us. The natives of such countries as were unacquainted with Europeans, I have constantly found to be shy, reserved, and very suspicious.

I cannot but here remark, that no skill in the navigator can reduce the navigation of these seas to any certainty of safety: the bottoms being so jagged, so irregular, and the inequalities of depths so frequent and sudden, that it is impossible to take any soundings which can be of much practical benefit.*

* For the situation of these islands, the geographical reader is referred to Mr. Arrowsmith's accurate map.

CHAP. XVIII.

VISIT THE SMALL ISLAND OF MATIA....INTERCOURSE WITH THE ISLANDERS....ONE OF POMARRIE'S DEPUTIES EXERCISING THE SUPREME AUTHORITY....ADMIRATION OF THE NATIVES ON SEEING US PUMP THE SHIP....ARRIVE THE SECOND TIME AT OTAHEITE.

FINDING no intercourse could be readily opened with these poor islanders, we made sail, and arrived at the small island of Matia, situated about fifty leagues to the northward of Maitea, which lies about twenty leagues east from Otaheite. Matia appeared to be as level as a bowling-green on the top, and might properly enough be called Table Land. We found it was governed by a deputy sent by Pomarrie from Otaheite, being the most distant spot under his authority.

In this island lay a very large double canoe, which had left Otaheite six months before to collect tribute. The natives brought off to us abundance of bread-fruit, and cocoa nuts, as articles for traffic, taking in return looking-glasses, nails, &c. &c. No hogs were produced, as the island furnishes very few, the principal support of the inhabitants being derived from the sea. In manners and appearance, the inhabitants of this little island bore a strong resemblance to those of Otaheite, but were less civilized; and our arrival excited amongst them a much greater degree of cu-

riosity than had been shewn by the natives of the other islands we had just visited. The gorget, made of a pearl kind of oyster-shell, was universally worn; but their cloth, of which they produced some specimens, seemed to be much inferior to that of Otaheite. Many of the natives were dressed in a teboota made of long knotted grass, carelessly thrown over their shoulders, and descending to the knees. Their canoes, on the other hand, were superior in point of execution to those of Otaheite, being ornamented with a profusion of carved work.

We lay off and on in a very fine bay, under the lee of the island. The low land surrounding it, and extending to the hills, was rich in bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees; and the beach, consisting of a fine sand, was crowded with natives, who watched all our motions with the most attentive curiosity. We admitted some of the chiefs with their friends and attendants, to come on board the ship; they examined every object that presented itself to them with the most eager admiration. Having occasion at this time to pump the ship, the instant the water began to flow they were struck with amazement, and instantly left the quarter-deck to flock round the pump, showing an extreme inquisitiveness to know whence this water came, and how it was raised. Our mariner's compass next attracted their notice, and they seemed to be filled with astonishment when our Otaheitan chief on board explained to them its uses. He was listened to as an oracle of information, and told them many things, I believe, that at least bordered on the marvellous. He informed them that

we possessed weapons, which, being merely pointed at them, would kill them in an instant; thus, no doubt, describing our fire-arms loaded. As far as we could learn, the natives had seen but one vessel before ours, which was probably a brig, as they represented her to have had but two masts.

Leaving Matia, we at length found ourselves restored to our old friends in Otaheite, where Pomarrie, Edeah, and Otoo, welcomed us in the most cordial manner. When these civilities were over, we were overwhelmed with applications for Sandwich Island cloth, and other articles of use or curiosity; and were quite unable to gratify the desires of our numerous applicants, who have no end to craving. They inquired the history of our voyage, and the wonders we had seen at Popahie, meaning Owhyhee. To these inquiries we gave the best answers in our power, and then presented to them a woman from the Sandwich Islands, brought with us in the ship on the following account.

In these remote parts of the globe we were often obliged to grant indulgences to our people, to which in other circumstances we should never have agreed, and which would never have been expected. Our second mate, a very useful person in the government of the ship's company, and in many other respects, pleaded hard with us, while we lay at the Sandwich Islands, to be allowed to carry a female native back with him to Port Jackson, in New South Wales. To such a proposition we would certainly have denied our assent; but, presuming on the importance of his

services, the mate intimated that, unless his desire was complied with, he would leave us at the first opportunity.

Having already malcontents enough, without adding an officer to the number, and one who had such great influence with the men, we thought it most prudent to suffer him to bring this woman on board, and thus completely secured him to our interest. Much mischief might otherwise have been fomented in the ship, had he been irritated by a refusal of his request.

This person was passionately fond of his new mistress, and spared neither expence nor pains to equip her in the handsomest manner; she was, in truth, in a most woeful plight when he received her from her relations, being brought to him without either wardrobe or jointure, but just as she stood in her homely country dress. It was therefore necessary to clothe the poor creature entirely anew; no easy task in our ship, where we had neither mantua-maker nor linen-draper. Her husband, therefore, purchased seven purple bordered shawls, on which, at every leisure moment, he worked in his best manner, until at length he produced a sort of long robe, stitched together rather than sewed. When fitted on the lady it had much the air of a leopard's skin, by the multitude of spots formed by the crossing of the coloured borders in all directions. That her finery might be of a piece, and she appear a little à la mode de Britannie, it was necessary she should wear pumps. The robe not only fitted, but quite delighted the poor girl, but with the pumps she would willingly have dispensed. It was her

husband's will, however, that she should wear them, and she reluctantly submitted.

This was no small sacrifice on her part, for when the shoes were tied on, she moved as if she had been iron shod. This was an operation too painful to be long endured; she therefore requested of her husband, that she might be unfettered; he consented, and her finery was laid aside till she reached Otaheite. One of her husband's shirts was substituted for common wear, during the passage.

From the first moment of the ship's arrival she was received with uncommon attention by the ladies, who flocked around her in crowds, regarding her attentively from head to foot, and complimenting her very courteously. Whether it was, that her colour so nearly resembled their own, or that the splendour of her dress so far surpassed any thing they had before seen, they were in raptures with her: every one pressed eagerly forward to pay their respects. After they had awhile gazed at her in this manner, the women withdrew with her into the ship's hold. I know not the object of this privacy, whether that they suspected that she was some man dressed up to impose upon them, or that, previous to her reception amongst them, there was a kind of masonry to be observed: so far is certain, that from what the woman afterwards said, they must have examined her very closely. None were more busy on this occasion than some of the branches of the royal family.

Every one was eager to become her Tayo; perhaps, as she was the wife of an European, they cherished themselves with the hope that some presents might be in the way. They are in this respect most excellent calculators, but sometimes overreach themselves, as was the case with respect to our armourer. She received many pressing invitations to visit them on shore, and complied with the greater part of them, dressed out to the best advantage. She did not, however, walk in her new pumps as if she had enjoyed the benefit of a dancing master.

CHAP. XIX.

DEATH OF THE FATHER OF POMARRIE....SINGULAR CHARACTER.... DEPARTURE OF THE CAPTAIN....RESIDENCE IN OTAHEITE FACTORY.

DURING our absence we found that the ship Nautilus had been at Otaheite, and taken away all the hogs she could procure. This was not the most pleasing intelligence.

Since our departure the father of Pomarrie had died, worn out by the gradual decay of nature, being blind at the period of his death. From his general character, he appears to have been a man of unexampled cunning and intrigue. Like many ambitious characters, he looked more to the end than to the means; and contrived by various well concerted schemes so to improve to the advan-

tage of his family the dissensions of the island, as to procure the royal authority for his son Pomarrie. Tamarre, son of the famous Oberea, the queen in the time of Wallis, was thus deprived of his right; and the family of Pomarrie invested quietly with the sovereign power.

We found by this time that there was no probability of procuring at Otaheite any further supply of hogs; and that our endeavours to this end required more time than we could conveniently spare. Dispatch was now our grand object. The captain and myself therefore concurred in opinion, that, as the most prudent measure under our present circumstances, he should sail with the ship to some of the islands to the windward, and thence procuring a live stock of hogs, should bring them to Otaheite to be slaughtered. Myself with two or three assistants were to remain at Otaheite on the salting business.

Upon the departure of the ship I was received with transport as a temporary resident. I knew to what to impute this warm welcome; having brought from the ship a most plentiful store, I was richer than all the royal family of Otaheite, and was received accordingly. For my greater convenience I endeavoured to render my temper as conformable as possible to their manners and customs. From this cause I was never free from a crowd of all ages and sexes; and their curiosity was truly embarrassing. An Otaheitan must see every thing. By humouring them in these respects, I became a very general favourite; not only with the people, but with the royal family. Every one attended me with the greatest civility; and the

king and myself almost daily exchanged presents and provisions. By these means our business of salting proceeded without interruption.

During this residence amongst them, I could not but observe their immoderate use of the ava. No sooner had they procured any fresh supply from Eimeo, or the more distant parts of their own island, than they gave themselves up to intoxication, and remained stupified for days together. I was again confirmed in my opinion, that the introduction of spirits would be attended with the general destruction of the population.

On leaving the ship, I requested the permission of Pomarrie to trade all over the island for hogs; this was most readily granted to me, as Matavia had become exhausted from the multitude of its late visitors. As my salting business required an addition of assistance, I was compelled to engage some fugitive seamen, a kind of men whom I should otherwise have rejected with disdain. I endeavoured at first to effect my purpose by means of the natives under the superintendance of a European; and sent them coasting around the island for hogs; but the fatigue of the oars soon sickened them, and they could never be prevailed upon to make a second trip. It was truly ludicrous to see their yawns and grimaces upon these occasions; they would exhibit their blistered hands, and exclaim most dolefully, Owhow, Owhow, Not good, Not good. Indeed many of them never made their appearance before me a second time, but betook themselves to flight at the first place where the boat landed. We might have waited for pork till Doomsday before they

would have acquired it for us by this labour. Our axes were good things, and our muskets better, but labour to an Otaheitan is always Owhow, Owhow.

From being a common dwelling-house, I converted my residence into a mansion, with more divisions and sub-divisions than all the other houses in Otaheite together. Immediately on landing, I partitioned off one half for myself with a railing across, and a bar gate in the centre. This was for a while a sad bar to the Otaheitans. After a certain time I was persuaded to admit a few of them as an especial favour; all exclusion was henceforth at an end, they no longer troubled themselves to ask if their company was agreeable, but introduced themselves pell-mell, and sans cérémonie. Their only return for this impertinence was an uninterrupted flow of compliments.

Opposite to me was a large trunk built for the purpose of keeping our pork; this furnished them with an ample theme: what a rich country must theirs be, which could supply such plentiful food for our half-starved countrymen! what a good thing it was for Prettanie that there was such a place as Otaheite, and such a man as Pomarrie!

The other half of the house I had set apart for our people, four in number, who immediately applied themselves to raising some large four-post beadsteads, all of which they hung round with Otaheitan cloth for drapery. Not one corner nor crevice of the house but was filled with natives; My tye, My tye, Good, Very good, resounded from every part. This flattery was very well calculated for our sailors, whose only aim was

admiration; and our seamen being rich (that is to say, having me to draw on as their banker) were considered by them as very suitable objects of flattery. They accordingly gave them infinite credit for the elegance of their booths; and when called on to arbitrate, would take care to affront neither party, by pronouncing the booths of all equally inimitable.

Having learned from the missionaries that a large stock of hogs might be procured from the windward part of the island, that part being too distant for the market of Matavia, I engaged some of the deserters whom I have before mentioned, upon this errand.

The condition of these men was by no means enviable: they complained very heavily, and with great reason, of the royal family; who, after having tempted them to desert their ship for the sake of their property, had left them when become poor to shift for themselves. They were now in the most abject state, differing little from a native; and many of them having no other clothes but the country marra. It required some manœuvring to manage these fellows; but by treating them in their own way, business at length proceeded to my wish. I moreover learned some intelligence of them, which much facilitated my purpose.

Their consequence increased with the wealth (wealth in Otaheite!) they procured by their labours; and, by their influence over the natives, they were of essential service. I never procured better nor cheaper hogs, than through the medium of these men. Other Europeans of the

same class, seeing the flourishing state of their countrymen, were now eager to engage in my service; and, as the advantage was mutual, however little I liked them, I was induced to accept of their service.

I moreover learned from these Europeans some particulars with regard to the manners and customs of the Otaheitans, which would otherwise have escaped me. These I shall take occasion to mention in due time.

The chief part of this business I entrusted to Peter the Swede, he being the most experienced man in the island. I left it to his discretion to dispatch or detain the boat according as he judged proper, and as they found hogs scarce in one part of the island, they were instructed to move to another.

Amongst my native servants, was a fellow recommended to me by one of the missionaries; he was sent with some of his countrymen to another part of the country to purchase hogs, and as they were purchased, to see them sent home. There was now a true spirit of competition between the Europeans and the Otaheitans. I did not fail to encourage this as much as was possible, and reaped the fruits of it by a most liberal supply of hogs. Our factory was now a complete Exchange. With the exception of the missionaries, I had every European in the island in my service; and had thus a better opportunity of becoming acquainted with the manners and customs of the island, than had perhaps before occurred to an European. What between the missionaries and the

European deserters, I had the means of hearing all sides of the question.

During the absence of the Swede, his second in command was plundered of his whole property; but, as Peter was himself almost an Otaheitan in his knowledge of the island, he easily frightened the thieves into restoration.

CHAP. XX.

MISFORTUNES OF AN OTAHEITAN AGENT....CHARACTERISTIC INTERCOURSE WITH THE ROYAL FAMILY.

THE native I had employed on the other part of the island, with his attendant hog-drivers proceeded for a while in the quiet discharge of his business; but prosperity has spoiled many a better man, and the Otaheitans are not proof against it.

Being habited in some of my old clothes, he assumed the man of consequence, and in his plenitude of prosperity ventured even to take a wife. The women would not before deign him even a look: but he had now become rich, and therefore, in the language of Otaheite, as well as of other countries Ta ta my ta, A very good man. That he might secure his domestic peace from invasion, and at the same time be uninterrupted in the discharge of his business, he brought his wife to the factory,

and requested that I would not see him injured in his absence, as he did not seem to entertain the best opinion of her fidelity.

In the mean while, remaining on his station, he gave me much satisfaction by a diligent discharge of his duty. It was not so with the other Otaheitans, for they began to take mortal offence at his insolence and air of superiority. His pride was much increased by the circumstance of seeing himself at the head of so numerous a retinue of servants.

This foolish fellow at length received the merited chastisement of his folly. His property was a temptation too great to be withstood by an Otaheitan; he was accordingly suddenly attacked, and plundered of all that he possessed.

His courage was so lowered by this misfortune, that he did not venture to make his appearance for two days; but at length stole away to the factory, and informed me of his misfortune. He was very desirous that I should avenge the injury by an invasion of the district. He repeated with great fervour, Ohow, ohow tata Otaheite, Bad man, very bad man the Otaheite man. I thought so myself but excused myself from the invasion. I forgave him, and presented him with two axes. He wished me much to reinstate him in his former situation; but as they had begun with him, I thought the first loss the best, and I resolved to break up the encampment, as too near the frontiers. Captain Main, the name by which he styled himself as the Tayo of one of the missionaries,

was now reduced to the humility and safety of a private station.

This gentleman paid me several visits afterwards. Harra way be angury (Put away your anger) was his constant salutation on these occasions. He was the usual interpreter of the native language, and this one of his best specimens.

His wife was not very well pleased with this change of fortune; and thinking she had married his wealth, and not himself, she deemed her contract annulled by this change of circumstances, and eloped without further ceremony. In the height of her husband's prosperity I had lent him a printed coverlid as a royal marra; his wife thought proper to take this with her. The poor fellow felt this misfortune more acutely than all his other mischances. I was so affected by his complaints, and the ingratitude of the woman, that I requested the interference of Pomarrie; but he eluded me with his usual dexterity, by the permission to arm my boat and invade the country.

Henceforth our business was wholly conducted by Europeans. It was not without the greatest difficulty that I could keep a suitable check over these profligates: the greater part of them were from Botany Bay, and required as strict a guard as the natives. It may be thus readily conceived, that my situation was not the most enviable.

For the greater security against such attempts, I put my property under the care of the missionaries; whose house, as compared with the best of the Otaheitans, was a perfect castle. Upon, the conclusion of a bargain, the natives escorted me in full procession to this magazine; and if the

article purchased by them happened to be a musket, it was truly ludicrous to see the bustle and consequence which was made of it. The musket, handed from one to another, was examined minutely by all; and every one finding some fault which had escaped the other, advised their countrymen not to be imposed upon, but to insist on a good one. They were certain that this shot crooked, and that another would not shoot at all, and in this manner rejected some of my best pieces and most usually remained content with the worst.

During this busy time, wholly occupied as I might be, I did not neglect a prudent attention to the royal family. They had much forwarded my business, by permitting my servants to range over the whole island in the quest of hogs; I therefore neglected nothing which could testify my grateful sense of their kindness. I sent them a daily allowance, as well for themselves, as for their voracious attendants, who, unless on the occasions of public feastings, have seldom an opportunity for these indulgences. My liberality procured me flattery and compliments in abundance. I have before observed, that they are never very sparing in this coin, when it answers any purpose.

This liberality, however, cost me less than they imagined; I sent them always the most indifferent parts of my hogs, such as I could not salt, and therefore, from the heat of the climate, could not have been kept. The most favourite part amongst the Otaheitans, the head, happened fortu-

nately to be the most worthless part to me, and I had thus an opportunity of bribing them at a very inconsiderable cost.

Otoo used frequently to invite me, under one pretence or another, to attend him at his house; I usually found him loitering with all the indolence of an Oriental, and his queen as idle and vacant as himself. Upon these visits he pointed to the grass, as my seat, and throwing himself by my side, entered into familiar conversation.

Her majesty was equally condescending: she never failed, upon these opportunities, to rummage my pockets,and appropriate to herself whatever she might chance to find. The queen of Tiaraboo was equally troublesome, and examined me with equal care. After I had learned that this would be their constant practice, I usually carried about my person some trifling article, that the royal sisters might have the pleasure of pilfering it.

CHAP. XXI.

OUTLINES OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.

I SHALL here throw together some observations, which regard the royal family, and the opinion entertained of them by the natives.

From the open and affable manner of Pomarrie, he is generally beloved by his own subjects. Whether this manner was natural or assumed, I do not take upon me to determine. It produced,

however, its full effect, and caused him to be considered as the father of his people, though he had no wish so near to his heart, as that of fleecing them to the very skin.

This avidity, indeed, seemed common to every branch and member of the royal family; Otoo was still superior in this respect to his father, and neither of them had any bounds.

Edeah had nothing of the affable and easy manners of Pomarrie; she received the natives with an haughty deportment, and never descended to any thing like equality. It was much more dangerous to offend her than Pomarrie.

Otoo is a fickle, irresolute character, naturally formed to be the dupe of the sycophants by whom he is surrounded, and, as usually happens in such cases, his ill qualities are cherished to fuller growth by these very sycophants.

In a word, the general characteristic of the whole family is avarice. It is a subject of reasonable astonishment, to see the excess to which this passion is carried. Their stores consist of articles which they have received from the first visits of European ships, and which have rarely seen the light since they were first there deposited. Their hoards are never broken; their pleasure is to have, and not to enjoy.

I myself was once witness of a most notorious act of this unnatural, for thus I may call it, selfishness, in Pomarrie himself. One of the missionaries, an easy, goodnatured man, had suffered himself to be wheedled out of the whole of what he possessed in the world; and, the clothes on his person excepted, had nothing left but a blanket.

Pomarrie happened to meet this Good Samaritan at my house, and seeing that he had still this blanket left, attached himself to him, and contrived to get it. I remonstrated with Pomarrie upon this act of selfishness, representing to him the great need that he had of this relic of his former property, but all in vain; Pomarrie thanked him for the blanket, and, without further words, sent it to his store.

The only instance of generosity I ever experienced, or saw, whilst in these seas, was from the king of Attowaie, who supplied us with cocoanuts, salt, and vegetables, without stipulating as to price or conditions, sending on board all that we required, and leaving the remuneration entirely to us. I hope it is needless to add, that we took care that he should lose nothing by his generosity.

I had hitherto considered Pomarrie as an exception to his countrymen, but I now found that they were all of the same stock, and in species as well as genus, all the same.

As my house was in some degree open, I suffered under a peculiar inconvenience; my premises were infested during the night by dogs, and their depredations on our pork were carried to some extent. As I knew the fondness of the Otaheitans for their dogs, I suffered for some time without complaint, but at length requested of Otoo, that he would command the natives in the neighbourhood, to keep their dogs at home; a request with which he not only complied, but added his permission to me to shoot any of them whom I should find hereafter trespassing. Availing myself of this indulgence, I had the misfor-

tune to kill a favourite cur of the sister of Pomarrie, and another little dog belonging to the wife of one of the chiefs. This business caused great lamentation amongst the women, and for some time brought me into disgrace with them.

Edeah having to provide for a multitude of strangers, who had lately arrived from the Mottos,* was for some time still more troublesome to us than the dogs. Our servants were native boys; she availed herself therefore of their services in secretly pilfering our pork. It was some time before I could discover by what means my stock was so visibly diminished, but at length having dismissed some of the boys under suspicion, and menaced others, I extorted their confession, that they had been employed by Edeah. They, moreover, showed me an opening formed by the removal of two pales under their bed, through which the stolen articles had been conveyed; and as the sides were greasy, there was no room for any doubt of their veracity.

I do not hesitate to say, that the whole island is but a receptacle of thieves. European property they will possess by some means or other; and theft they consider as a cheaper coin than they can give by any method of purchase. They will not hesitate to waylay and rob a traveller; one method of theft is as palatable to them as another. Pomarrie is himself as dexterous a thief as any amongst them, if borrowing, without any intention of repayment, merit this name. He would often request me to lend him an hog, but if he once received it, never again mentioned it. This

* These will be more fully described hereafter.

could be nothing but mere avarice, as he could have had any number of hogs at a very easy rate. But theft, as I have before said, is a cheaper method of acquisition than purchase.

To what is this general propensity to be imputed? Theft, as an evil in itself, and an evil intelligible to any one where every thing is not in common, has nothing to say to civilization; it should be as intelligible to the savage, as to the European. It is a violation of the law of nature; a law before their eyes, and legible in every circumstance of their situation. There is therefore an honesty and dishonesty amongst savages, as amongst the citizens of a civilized country; and they are to be considered as more or less depraved, accordingly as they are more or less observant of this elemental law of nature. The Otaheitans are thieves in every sense of the word.

CHAP. XXII.

ARRIVAL OF PAITIA AND HIS SISTER....FESTIVITIES ON THE OCCASION.

ABOUT three weeks after the ship's departure, our friend Paitia returned from the Mottos It has been heretofore mentioned, that on our departure from the Sandwich Islands we left him on the brink of death; and that, as the last and only hope, he had been persuaded by his friends to go to the Mottos, to the end that he might be there weaned of his fatal passion for the ava.

He now returned from this journey, and in every respect so much changed, that we had some difficulty to believe him the same. He was now stout, lusty, and plump; his skin, which was before scaly, was now fat and sleek, and his constitution appeared altogether renovated. Paitia was one of the brothers of Pomarrie, and being thus of the blood royal, had, as may be supposed, a numerous train of attendants in his retinue.

These Mottos are small sandy islets, almost level with the water-edge, and about twenty miles to the northward of Otaheite. They abound with fish of every kind. Hither the Otaheitans and inhabitants of the neighbouring island resort in their summer excursions; these are their watering-places, and at those times the scene of noisy and general festivity.

Every thing was now hurry and confusion, to give a worthy reception to Paitia and his sister Awow. It was now a general holiday over the whole face of this part of the island. There was no discourse of which Paitia was not the subject. Gaming, feasting, and rioting, was now the sole occupation from the king to his meanest subject.

But the grand exhibition was to take place within an area of ground kept sacred to the use of the king, and an encampment was formed, that the king might see and hear the entertainment.

It was now a Bartholomew-fair time at Otaheite; nothing but singing and drumming from morning till night. It was usually mid-day before the sports began, or their natural spirits could scarcely have supported the fatigue. Their manner of wrestling is very singular; the party chal-

lenging places his left hand on the upper part of his right breast, and with his right hand strikes a smart blow on the cavity formed by the bend of the left arm ; he is answered by his antagonist in the same manner, and the contest begins. Head and feet are equally employed upon this occasion, and the contest is terminated only when one of them receives a fall.

Those who were resident in the neighbourhood were usually opposed to the strangers. Our Europeans, in general, had no chance with them ; but the moment one or the other received a fall, the contest was at an end, and their threatening looks and ferosity changed into smiles and affectionate salutation. The temper of the Otaheitans is, in this respect, very amiable ; they appear absolutely incapable of malice, and if we adopt an epithet from poetry, we may truly call them " a land of gentle souls." One contest, however, was no sooner decided than another party came forward, and this continued upwards of a week.

Nor were these sports confined solely to the men ; the women were equally emulous to signalize themselves, and their feats of pugilism were equally honourable to their courage. They fought with equal resolution and dexterity, hanging on each others necks like bull-dogs, tearing their hair, bumping the stomach of each other, both with their heads and feet ; in a word, neglecting no means of victory. Their husbands and relations were spectators of their efforts, and encouraged them to continue them ; upon one or the other receiving a fall, the affair was terminated, and the parties, after adjusting their hair,

would tenderly embrace, and be as good friends as ever.

The Arreoys were peculiarly active in exciting the parties upon these occasions. After having spent the greater part of the afternoon in this manner, we were always entertained in the evening by an heva or dance. The women, to the amount of ninety or an hundred, formed themselves into two circles, one of them consisting wholly of the residents, the other of the strangers, and each with their separate band of music. It is impossible for me to describe the variety of sounds produced by them, by the simple means of the exhalation and inhalation of their breath, for with the exception of a few words chaunted at the beginning of a song, they made use of no words, but tuned their throats so as to produce a variety of tones, and all of them in perfect concert.

In truth I was astonished at the exact union, regularity, and good time. The king looking over my head, would frequently demand of me how I liked the entertainment, and whether we had any thing which could equal it in Prettanie. I have before said that their dances have been mentioned as replete with obscene motions; but I saw less than what I had been led to expect. If the very origin of dancing, according to some, was in the imitation of what is not fit to be mentioned, the Otaheitans have now become so civilized, that the coarseness of the resemblance is now worn off.

The men also had their part in this entertainment. About one hundred and fifty young fellows were so seated in two rows as to form an

avenue between them about seven feet apart; they then chaunted, and inhaled, and exhaled, in the same manner as the women, who had but now finished. The motions were as cotemporaneous as those of one man; nothing could be more accurate. The king frequently interrogated me in the same manner, and I gratified him by the same answer, that all I saw was admirable, and that we had nothing like it in Britain.

Before the assembly broke up, some stout muscular young fellows came forward and endeavoured to amuse the assembly by exhibiting some obscene attitudes. They were received however with very cold encouragement. I am of opinion that this favourable change in their national taste, is to be imputed to the exertions of the missionaries. Would to heaven that their efforts might prevail to induce these savages to cease from the practice of infant murder, and human sacrifices!

The Arreoys appeared to me to have the conduct of the whole. During the whole course of these entertainments, the music seldom stopt one moment. Our house and stock-yard were, during all this time, crowded with natives; nothing exempt from their scrutiny, as it was a point of hospitality to shew every thing to the strangers.

Being at length, and with difficulty, satisfied what was this thing, and what was that, and what the use of every thing they saw, they would run to their fishing seine. This is a net made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, and extending full a quarter of a mile in length; it will sweep round a rock without much injury, and whatever fish

may be adhering to its side, will force from their holds without difficulty. Some of the king's attendants are always in waiting upon these occasions, and seldom fail to seize upon two thirds as the royal tribute.

The king being thus served, the multitude are let loose upon what remains, a scene truly ludicrous : a general scramble of men, women, and children, then ensues; the seine is usually torn to pieces in the contest; every one then decamps with his prize.

These amusements continued during the whole week after the arrival of the illustrious strangers, but slackened towards the end; the country people returning to their homes to prepare for the repetition of the same merriment in their own district.

When any of the greater chiefs return from these Mottoes, as they are called, they never fail to make the circuit of the whole island. Their retinue is then numerous, for simple as is their life, they are not without a taste for pomp. Their followers consist of all the strangers from the Mottoes, and the same merriment and diversion continues wherever they stop; add to this, they are every where loaded with presents; so that by the time they have made the circuit of the island, a peregrination which usually occupies them three months, their canoes return as rich as a fleet of gallcons. Their connection with the royal family renders the people more than ordinarily liberal; it is moreover the custom of the country upon such occasions, to hold no bounds in their generosity.

These Motto excursions, or royal progresses, have doubtless no other purpose, than of extorting from the liberality of the people these voluntary taxes. Nothing indeed can exceed the prodigality of the people, except it be the avidity of the chiefs.

The conclusion of this hurricane of riot and confusion was to me a moment of satisfaction; for however little interest, and whatever little the part which I bore in this festivity, no inconsiderable share of its inconvenience fell upon me.

Our house was situated in the midst of a plantation of cocoa-nut trees, and was surrounded with a railing inclosing about half of an acre, where we had erected a blacksmith's shop, and a boat house. The circuit of this inclosure became a general mall; and during the time of the feasting, the natives were constantly introducing their friends the strangers, to see the armourer at work. They would express their admiration of his ingenuity; but the fellow knowing with whom he had to deal, and little moved by their flattery, contrived by plentifully scattering his sparks, to keep them at a respectful distance. And this management was necessary for more reasons than one; for independant of their wearisome impertinence, and constant interruption, nothing was safe within their reach. If any of our hogs made their escape, they seldom failed to change masters; and after having been detained some time, have not unfrequently been again brought to us, and a second time offered for sale. Their impudence of theft indeed exceeds all belief: an English horse-dealer might here add much to his proverbial dexterity.

The missionaries have suffered much from this national breach of the eighth commandment; a strayed hog is never recovered. Their goats are safer, for the aversion of the Otaheitans to goat's flesh is invincible.

Notwithstanding their many and daily opportunities to improve themselves in the mechanical arts, the utility of which they daily observe and confess, it is incredible to perceive their slow advances in this knowledge. With one half of these advantages, the Sandwich Islanders would have made a very different progress. In the whole island I have only seen two men who could work even tolerably in iron, though Pomarrie has a forge and bellows, and a complete blacksmith's apparatus. Two or three of them alone know even how to handle a saw, and scarcely one who knew any thing of any other carpenter's tools. They seem to prefer having their work done by us, to doing it by their own industry. It would seem natural to imagine that the beauty and evident utility of the missionaries garden, would operate at once as a stimulus, and an example. But to whatever cause it is to be imputed; whether to the natural fertility of their soil, which renders industry needless, or to the physical effect of a climate producing an irresistible indolence: this has not happened; and the Otaheitans will be yet many years without these elements of civil life, the common working of wood and iron.

During a heavy gale from the westward, a canoe arrived at Otaheite from Tapeyomanna, on a political mission to Pomarrie. The chief of this

embassy took frequent opportunities of visiting our factory, and was particularly solicitous, that on the return of the ship we should pay their island a visit. At this time we also received frequent visits from two chiefs of the island of Bolabolla, one of them said to be uncle to the reigning king, who were equally importunate with our other friends. Fire-arms and powder were their object: they would have scrupled at no price to have obtained them; it was their souls' desire; if they had it they would have made no scruple to have placed an equal quantity of gold in the opposite scale against a musket. These men enjoined the strictest secrecy in their interviews with us, lest Otoo should betray them to the Uliteans; and to guard against any attempt of this nature, were very urgent to be accommodated with a passage on board our vessel, against his return. The royal family had, doubtless, some deep political motive in suffering these men, the implacable enemies of the Uliteans, to procure muskets by barter with the ships. This motive, however, I cannot profess to conjecture.

The propensity which these people have to continual wars with each other, is of the most fatal consequence to the happiness of these islanders. Their minds have thus acquired a ferocity which otherwise seems not natural to them; but, notwithstanding this seeming fierceness, I am persuaded that a few determined Europeans would find no difficulty in subjugating them. As an instance of this, I shall here introduce the following circumstance.

The Swede whom I have before mentioned,

had obtained permission to trade for me all over the island, and from this indulgence had taken the liberty of introducing himself into the districts hostile to Pomarrie. These people gave him a most welcome reception, having formerly felt the effects of his prowess, when fighting the battles of Pomarrie. In these wars he had killed many of their countrymen; for, being a courageous fellow, he always took the lead upon these occasions. They now held out many flattering proposals, if he would reside amongst them; they promised that he should have hogs, houses, lands, and canoes.

The Swede had already experienced the ingratitude of the opposite party; for he had no sooner accomplished their purpose, and by his efforts perhaps saved Pomarrie and the king, than he was laid aside as a tool no longer wanted. He had thus very reasonably become dissatisfied with them; and thinking that he had no very particular obligation, or any duty of allegiance, he resolved to change masters, and the opportunity now presented itself. He thought that he might place more dependance upon his new than his former employers. He brought to our house whatever property he possessed, to be conveyed thither the next time our boat should go that way, which, until this event occurred, I proposed should be on the morrow. But when he made the request, that himself and family, four in number, with two others of the people whom I had discharged, should be conveyed thither, I thought it a duty that I owed my countrymen the missionaries, to inform them of his purpose.

Alarmed at the probable consequences of this event, some of them strenuously requested me to remonstrate with him, and if possible induce him to lay aside this purpose. Some of them expostulated with him, but to very little purpose; he was seemingly resolved to persist in his own way.

In answer to their reasonings, he complained very heavily of having been so often deceived by Pomarrie; and that, though he had not relaxed one moment in his efforts to advance the interests of Pomarrie, the ends of the latter were no sooner effected, than his promises were forgotten, and his reward denied or eluded. This was indeed very true; the poor fellow, after all his services, was sometimes hard put to it for a subsistence.

The missionaries had no answer to this, but to request him to delay the execution of his purpose till they should have exerted their interest with Pomarrie, and procure him some redress. After some further negotiation, I was appointed mediator between the parties.

In the mean time Pomarrie, being informed that he was about to lose, and his enemies to gain, so stout a warrior, hastened in terror to Matavai, and requested me to interpose, and procure a reconciliation. The Swede was sullen and determined. He turned a deaf ear to all that Pomarrie had to say.

I now began my part: taking Pomarrie aside, I informed him that all my negotiations with the Swede had been fruitless; that he had a heavy and just cause of complaint; that he was exasperated by neglect, after the services of so many

years; that having done so much for him, he certainly merited some permanent return. Pomarrie demanded what he now wanted? I replied, a sufficiency for himself and family. Pomarrie was eager for delay, under the pretext of the necessity of consideration, as every place would not alike suit the Swede.

About this time Edeah arrived, and began in her usual way of blandishment, reminding the Swede of their former relationship; for, in his first marriage, he had married a relation of the royal family, and had in consequence a large tract of land assigned him. But the Swede was as inexorable by her as by Pomarrie.

Here again I was referred to. To which I replied, that unless something was done, and that without further delay, for his satisfaction, my interference would be useless, as he was determined that he would no longer be the dupe of his confidence in their promises. The royal pair requested, that I would not suffer his property to be removed till the morning, when they would meet me again, and arrange something to his satisfaction.

The missionaries concurred in this request, equally anxious that every thing should be arranged. In the evening I spoke to him again on the same subject, and went still farther than I had done before, advising him to think seriously before he acted, and not to persist in a determination which would effectually remove him from the island; that the interest of the missionaries was a thing of too much consequence to be exposed to any risk, and that therefore, should he exe-

cute his intention, and by joining the enemies of Pomarrie, endanger their safety, he might rest assured he would be removed upon the arrival of the first missionary ship, and forcibly reconducted to Europe. I knew that this representation could not fail of due effect, as of all things he dreaded nothing more than leaving a place where the necessaries of life were certain. His disease moreover, the elephantiasis, rendered it impossible for him to live by his industry in any of the kingdoms of Europe; this he knew well, and therefore dreaded any removal. Whether he understood my policy, or from any other cause, he listened to my remonstrances with callous indifference, affecting at the same time to be much obliged to me for my interference. He had indeed profited much by his long abode amongst these islanders, his natural cunning having been much whetted by their example. Pomarrie for once kept his word with unusual exactness; he was early with us the next morning, and pointing out a lot of land, about half a mile distant from our residence, said the Swede might take possession of it, and that shortly he would do something better for him. Opposite to this lot of ground was a small island; Pomarrie added, that the fish around this islet should be his sole property, and that next day he would accompany him to perfect his investiture. The Swede was satisfied so far, but still harped on the ingratitude with which he had been long treated. Next day Pomarrie again visited us, and the parties departed; the business was adjusted, and every thing to all appearance reconciled.

I am of opinion that this business was prevented in time, as had the Swede once settled among the Hidieams, the consequences must have been fatal, as well to the greatness of Pomarrie, as to the safety of the missionaries. The Swede would have proved a most dangerous enemy, being as artful as courageous. He would moreover have formed a kind of rallying post for all the runaway seamen, and other discontented Europeans on the island; he was in every respect formed for the head of a low party,* and his desertion to this people would most probably have produced a series of fatal wars.

In the last grand attempt against the Attahourans, this man led the van, and through his still steadily adhering to the cause of Pomarrie, and the assistance of our people, there is little doubt that the Attahourans were much more easily intimidated than had the case been otherwise. Through his generalship in the preceding war, in 1802, they had lost many of their people; for, whilst the Attahourans were wasting their time in the enemy's country, this man, being of a ferocious and sanguinary disposition, made a sudden irruption into Attahoura with a party of Pomar-

* What made him much more dangerous at this time was, that I had discharged the renegadoes I had employed on first landing. These men being now utterly at a loss how to dispose of themselves, would willingly have joined the same party, which would have thrown a wonderful preponderancy in the opposite scale. Nothing but the fear of such consequences could have induced Pomarrie and Edeah to have made such concessions as they did to this man.

rie's adherents, and put many to death; the objects of his vengeance were principally old men, women, and children.

In all cases of emergency, this fellow had been looked up to as a deliverer; having, shortly after becoming a resident, with a small number of Pomarrie's warriors, reduced to obedience a whole district, which had thrown off their dependance on Otoo. At the time of the missionaries settling in Otaheite, he had acted as interpreter between the chiefs and missionaries; and during the Duff's voyage to the Friendly Islands and Marquesas, had accompanied that ship thither, to give them every assistance in his power; which, from his long residence amongst the natives, was, as may be supposed, very considerable.

CHAP. XXIII.

LONG ABSENCE OF THE SHIP....MELANCHOLY INTELLIGENCE OF HER FATE....NARROW ESCAPE OF THE CREW.

HOWEVER I might keep my feelings to myself, I had been for some time very uneasy with respect to our ship, as it had now been absent two months instead of three weeks; the latter period being the utmost I had allowed for her longest possible absence. The people with me were equally alarmed and less discreet; they had already begun dreaming, and it was not without much difficulty that I could ridicule them out

of their interpretations. I readily acknowledged that the vessel had been absent much beyond the expected period of their arrival; but imputed this absence to the prevalence of the westerly winds, which most probably had driven the ship to the eastward. They were still however persuaded, that from the long delay something had happened; and to confess the truth, I had begun to entertain the same opinion. At length the fatal remains of the Margaret were discovered by the natives, about three leagues to the northward of the island. The conjectures of the royal family, the missionaries, and the natives, seemed all to lead to one point; and by their expressive looks at me, it was not difficult to comprehend their object. The sight of the sail confirmed me in my apprehensions beyond any further doubt; it was as large as three of our boat's, and could belong to nothing but a ship. The king and missionaries demanded my opinion, but I was too much moved to express my sentiments. Some canoes coming across from the Mottos at this time, Otoo and myself walked up to them and made new inquiries, but they were equally at a loss with ourselves; some asserting it to be a boat, others a ship. By this time a gun was fired, on hearing which I immediately launched two canoes, and (whoever they might turn out to be, for I had now begun to hope) sent them to their assistance. They returned but too soon, with the intelligence that the remains were those of the Margaret converted into a punt. The crew of the punt had been for the two last days on allowance of two wine glasses of water

per diem. The canoes therefore again hurried back to the relief of my unhappy comrades.

The punt however having been built square, from their having been unable to bend the planks, could only sail before the wind; and instead of reaching Matavia, had much difficulty in making the most leeward part of Otaheite. Had they missed this, they must to all appearance have inevitably perished; for within an hour afterwards the wind blew a tempest, accompanied with thunder and lightning, and torrents of rain, during the following night. Pomarrie, much to his credit, no sooner heard of their arrival, than he hastened to their assistance, lest the enemy should avail themselves of their weakness, and plunder them of the little which they had yet left. He got a hog and bread-fruit roasted, and spared nothing to alleviate their sufferings; sleeping in the house during the night to prevent thefts.

Having left the factory under the charge of the missionaries, I had by this time joined my comrades. Pomarrie was chiefly alarmed, lest we should be attacked by the Attahourans, being in their immediate neighbourhood. Had this attempt been made, wearied and worn out as were the crew, it could not scarcely have failed of success. The tempestuous state of the weather was moreover peculiarly favourable for such an enterprise.

Fortunately, however, the fears of the king and ourselves were altogether groundless. Had the crew been compelled to put in at any other island, I am persuaded they would have been plundered; and that their distress would have produced no

other effect, than that of animating their enemy to greater exertions, in proportion as the possible resistance could have been so feeble. There is little generosity to be expected in any intercourse with a savage enemy; they know and acknowledge nothing of what a civilized nation calls the point of honour. To be defenceless among them is to be but an easier prey; an enemy over whom a victory is certain, and the danger of the contest nothing.

Pomarrie did not forget a few days afterwards to demand his presents. It was not so with the missionaries; there was no selfishness here; they were animated by no other impulse, but that of christian charity, which extends its arms to the miserable, and binds up the broken reed.

Being too fatigued and worn out, the crew were unable to attend divine service in the chapel of the missionaries: Mr. Jefferson, therefore, with that anxious piety which distinguishes him, preached a thanksgiving sermon in the house.

CHAP. XXIV.

PARTICULARS OF THE SHIP DURING ITS ABSENCE....ILL CONDUCT OF THE SAILORS.

IT may be imagined that our first inquiries, after the sense of our loss had in some degree subsided, were directed to the circumstances of this misfortune. These circumstances, as reported to me by the Captain, were as follows:

From contrary winds, and lee-currents, the ship had been a fortnight in getting to the windward, and it was only the day previous to the accident, that he had commenced trading with the natives. On the morrow, with the mutual satisfaction of both parties, the trade was to be renewed, but according to the old and often verified adage, man contrives, but God executes. The business of the captain, as he proposed to renew the trade on the succeeding morning, was to keep his station during the night; but whilst in the act of plying to windward for this purpose the ship was unfortunately lost on a low reef of rocks and sand-banks. Being almost on a level with the water's edge, they had never before been discovered. The captain and the crew landed without much difficulty, and employed themselves in saving whatever stores were within their reach; but during the ensuing night the boat was stolen through the treachery of the Otaheitan natives, nor were they ever afterwards enabled to recover her. Nor had these wretches been satisfied with this plunder; for, together with the boat, the muskets and ammunition, with which they had been provided to defend themselves against the attacks of the natives, had disappeared, and scarcely an hope of safety was left.

It was necessary, in the first instance, to build another boat from some planks on board the vessel: this they commenced without loss of time, and had almost completed it, when the natives of the neighbouring islands began to collect in vast numbers, and annoy them exceedingly; their situation was truly dismal.

However, by force of unexampled exertion, and unremitting vigilance, they contrived to repel these attacks. The boat was at length finished, and every thing in readiness to quit this unfortunate spot. Their misfortunes, however, were not at an end; after repeated trials it was now found impossible to get the boat over the reef, and it was necessary to abandon this hope of escape. The misery of their situation was now redoubled; their spirits and powers of labour were exhausted, and their planks and nails expended in building the boat.

Necessity is the mother of invention. Every one was not only allowed, but called upon, to deliver his opinion as to the best means of safety and escape. The natives were hourly becoming more and more troublesome; not a day passed without some skirmish with these savages.

Something, however, was necessary to be done, as their last resource, therefore, the deck of the ship was broken up, and with the boards and nails a kind of punt was made. Being flat bottomed, it of consequence floated in less water, and with some difficulty was got over the reef.

They did not, however, escape without some cost. Whilst the punt was in preparation, the savages during the night attacked the two sentries, and pierced them with their spears in a manner which but for the uncommon natural strength of the men, must have terminated in their immediate death. The bowels of one of them hung out when he was delivered into the hands of Mr. Elder, the surgeon of the missionaries at Otaheite. His life was long despaired of, nor could he pos-

sibly have survived, had he experinced less kindness and attention. And here let me not forget Mr. Jefferson: but to say every thing in one word, I shall only add, that he practised actively what he preached zealously. Once for all, I must express my regret, that such labourers are fixed on so ungrateful a soil: may their future harvest be such as to reward their toil!

Such was their situation when the punt was finished. Spent with fatigue, and still more with anxiety of mind, and perpetual alarm, they became weary of life, and whatever might be their future fate, implored the captain to leave the rock. It was in vain for the captain to remonstrate; they exclaimed unanimously, that they would rather perish by the craziness of their punt, than wear out a lingering existence on the rock, or be cruelly murdered by the savages. It may not be unnecessary here to observe, that two or three of these fellows were convicts; and however courageously they had dared the laws of their country, they were here only remarkable for their pusillanimity.

The craft being finished, they embarked to the number of eighteen, having on board only a few muskets, a small quantity of powder, one bag of bread, and ten gallons of water. Even this was so brackish, that nothing but their present situation could have induced them to have made us of it; for the sand-bank not being more than forty yards across, and not more than four feet above the level of the sea, it was only by digging a good depth that any could be obtained. The water oozing through the sand, was in some measure purified from its saline qualities. The natives must, to all appearance, suffer much from

this want. Scarcely were they on float, after leaving the wreck, when the savages rushed on board, and tore open and took away every thing portable.

After a voyage of five days, in this most miserable of craft, they at length reached Otaheite, nearly exhausted. We now experienced the truth of a maxim, which history in events of greater consequence has too frequently verified; how much authority sinks under ill success. During the whole of the ship's absence, the business of salting pork at our factory proceeded perfectly to my satisfaction, but this reverse threw every thing into confusion; so universal is the influence of fortune; so impatient are we of restraint; so willing to avenge ourselves of a temporary superiority, and to gain a triumph over our former masters.

Not content with this temporary triumph, these miscreants most effectually prejudiced the minds of the natives against us, by alleging that the loss of the vessel had brought us all upon a level, and that to continue any longer in our service was to work for employers who had no means of making them a recompence. Under this impression the native boys, who before had courted our service, withdrew from us in disdain, and attached themselves to these desperadoes.

In a word, the captain and myself were now left to shift for ourselves, for the fellows took themselves off, and seemed pleased with the idea that their masters would be much embarrassed by their desertion. This conduct was the less pardonable, as the greater part of them had in fact

nothing to do, having native servants to perform all the drudgery, and the care of clothing and providing for them falling wholly upon me. It was not many days, however, before they discovered their mistake; it has ever been found as happy as extraordinary a trait in the character of this kind of people, that they grow as soon weary of their mutiny, as they had formerly been of their good conduct.

They at length assembled in a body corporate, and made a regular demand of the muskets and powder saved from the wreck; a demand to which I strongly objected as peculiarly unreasonable in our present situation. Mr. Jefferson, one of the missionaries, having received a commission of the peace from the governor of New South Wales, I referred the claimants to this gentleman, and consented, upon my own part, to abide by his decision. To this they accordingly agreed, and we appeared before Mr. Jefferson about three o'clock the same day. Fearing as well for the peace of the island as for that of his mission, Mr. Jefferson pronounced an absolute negative upon their demand of the muskets. We offered them other articles; some were contented, others murmured. The most troublesome of them were such as had saved some property, however little valuable from the wreck: these were considered by the natives, and therefore considered themselves, as wealthy men, men of no small consequence. There was something peculiarly ludicrous in the insolence of these fellows, and almost equally so in the artifice with which the natives encouraged their ideas of their own importance.

The end of it was as might be imagined, their property gradually vanished, and with it the uncommon attention of the natives; and the fellows, become poor, returned to their duty, and their common sense. The stage of life does not present a broader farce, than that of a low man elevated into sudden and unexpected consequence.

I know not how it happened, but if the natives acted as leeches to these fellows, the royal family were the final channel to which the stream found its way. By some means or other, the king and Pomarrie were ultimately in possession of the whole of their property. This was no inconsiderable addition to their royal exchequer, and, I make no doubt, will long be considered as a fortunate æra in the Otaheitan treasury.

With some difficulty, I at length effected their general return to their duty. I have no doubt that they had been led to the demand of fire-arms and powder by the artifice of the chiefs, who knew very well that they were a kind of sponges, and that once filled, they had only to squeeze them to get to themselves what they contained. Their riches gone, our fellows began to experience that new friends are the same in Otaheite as in most parts of the world. The richest man in Otaheite is always the man of most importance; and as I had saved something, my consequence returned, whilst that of our troublesome crew vanished with their property. I was now once more, Pomarrie; that is to say, not unworthy of being the Tayo of the king.

CHAP. XXV.

VOYAGE TO EIMEO....OCCURRENCES IN THAT ISLAND.

WE had now seen enough to know that the very comfort of our stay at Otaheite depended on our being able to pay for it. The apparent generosity of these people is but another kind of policy, a cunning artifice, under the cover of which they were more readily enabled to dupe us. There was another circumstance moreover which much embarrassed us: Otaheite within the two last years had become so well supplied with European articles, that they had now become very difficult; and as our stock was now rendered by our wreck very limited, we were not unfrequently at a loss to keep up the market.

These circumstances concurred to induce a resolution to make a trial of one of the neighbouring islands, and Eimeo was fixed upon for that purpose. As fewer ships had touched at this island, I concluded that indifferent property would here find a more certain sale. Hogs moreover were said to be here more numerous.

Our passage over was very rough; and the sea being heavy, and the wind fresh, we narrowly escaped being swamped upon reaching Tallow harbour. Having taken nothing with us, we were in great want of refreshment, but could procure nothing to eat; the greater part of the na-

tives being absent about a mile distant up the harbour, entertaining a travelling gang of Arreoys and strangers from Otaheite. From our situation, we could distinctly hear the drums and noise. None or at least very few of the natives, came near us during the night; and we began to repent that we had left our factory at Matavai.

In the morning, at sunrise, we ran down inside the reef with the purpose of procuring better quarters. The water being shallow our people were not unfrequently compelled to leave the boat and drag it for miles. As they had no food, and were already sufficiently fatigued, they did not bear this with a very exemplary patience. I encouraged them to perseverance, and promised them provisions if they could be procured at any price; but with all our efforts it was near eleven o'clock before we reached a house, or any thing in the shape of a house; and in the islands of Otaheite and Eimeo, to reach a house is not always to find food. A few mountain plantains, two or three heads of bread-fruit, and a small pig, were all that we could procure. We should doubtless have fared better, had it not been for the Arreoys; but wherever these gentlemen come, they seldom fail to clear the coast before them.

The women of the house were busily employed in making cloth, and the men in preparation for a visit to Ulitea. Nothing was now in their mouths but the Arreoys, and the expedition to Ulitea. It was now considerably after mid-day, and as the people complained so much of their fatigue, it was agreed to stay there till the follow-

ing morning. I endeavoured to amuse myself in the best possible manner, by walking about the neighbourhood: and at night was accommodated in the best manner the hut afforded; that is to say, upon the sod or cold ground.

At sunrise on the following morning, we again proceeded on our journey. Here again occurred the same obstacle which had impeded our progress on the former day: we had again to drag the boat over the coral rocks, the edges of which were as sharp as flints. By noon, with bloody feet and exhausted spirits, we reached the habitation of the chief of the island: this house was about one hundred and forty feet long, and fifty wide, being by far the largest on the island. The chief kindly and hospitably received us; he ordered a small hog, and bread-fruit, to be immediately roasted, an order which our sailors evidently took in good part.

The chief, who is brother of Edeah, shewed me every possible civility, escorting me in his neighbourhood, and exhibiting his magazines. The sum total of his stores was five muskets, two pistols, three or four quart bottles of gunpowder, three or four pounds of gun-powder folded up in some country cloth, ten gun-flints, a hammer, pincers, and a few nails of different sizes.

We did not, however, get on with the main object of our voyage, the procuring hogs. There was but one kind of property which would procure them, and we were almost as scarce in this article as themselves. Muskets and gunpowder were the only currency. We spent the afternoon

very agreeably with our host; and as the sailors found partners to their inclinations amongst the natives, they seemed in some degree more reconciled to their former fatigues.

On the following morning at sunrise, after a suitable return, we again proceeded on our journey, occompanied by a native, whom we had taken with us at the request of Pomarrie. This man assured us that our sufferings were now at an end, that we were within a very inconsiderable distance of his residence, where we should procure every thing the island produced, and as many hogs as we wanted. This intelligence was very seasonable consolation to us; every one exerted his utmost efforts to gain this Land of Promise. We at length arrived. It was a village by far the most considerable of any we had yet seen. The men and women were all equally assiduous in rendering us their assistance. The boat was by this time scarcely able to hold water, so much was it injured by dragging it over the sharp rocks; the first business therefore was to haul her to land, and repair her, as far as our circumstances would admit. As this could not be finished till late in the evening, and the people received us with such an hearty welcome, our hog and bread-fruit being roasted on the spot, I resolved to remain there during the night, and recommence our journey on the following morning.

It has been before mentioned that not the least of our smaller kind of difficulties arose from the impertinent curiosity of the natives. It was necessary to show them every thing; and as they do not want cunning whenever the occasion de-

mands it, they had no difficulty in inventing a plausible reason: unless they saw our articles of trade, they could not decide whether they were such as would suit them; and their hogs being in the mountains at a considerable distance, how could we expect them to bring them down at such an uncertainty?

Pomarrie's friend moreover informed them that I was very rich; they therefore insisted upon seeing every thing, and it was necessary to gratify them. They were charmed at the sight of such wealth, and promised me that every thing should be ready for us on the following morning.

CHAP. XXVI.

CONTINUATION OF OCCURRENCES AT EIMEO.

I WENT to sleep with the treasure chest close to my side, as usual. How great was my surprise when awaking about two o'clock in the morning, I saw a fellow of unusual stature, walking off with it most deliberately! The fellow must doubtless have touched me, for I happened to awake in the moment that he was leisurely decamping with his booty. I immediately alarmed the house, and called my boat's crew; but as two of them had slept out, and two only were in the house, I knew not how to proceed. So enraged was I at this

atrocity, that seizing a piece of wood at hand, I followed the thief, and came up with him as he was in the act of setting it down in a house full of natives. Without any thought of consequences, I repaid him on the spot with some heavy blows on the back; the natives started up and rescued him, and wresting the stick from me repaid me in my own coin; my two fellows standing petrified with terror. Having no other resource but flight, I betook myself in good earnest to my heels, and gaining the house of the chief requested him to interpose. From his reluctancy of manner, I could entertain no doubt that he had been accessary to the theft. I in vain solicited him to accompany me to the spot, and effect the recovery of my chest.

Finding that entreaty had no effect, I had recourse to other means, and seizing the boat's iron tiller, threatened that I would put a period to the fellow's existence or lose my own, unless my chest was restored. He now consented to follow me. The whole village was by this time in an uproar; the fellow himself, the original cause of the tumult, sat triumphantly on the chest, and seemed to glory in the heroism of his theft.

A most fortunate circumstance was, that the fellow in taking the trunk, had, at the same time, carried off the two pistols with which I usually travelled, and all the ammunition. It is not at all improbable, that I should otherwise have given him the contents, whilst in the first transports of passion; a circumstance which must have been attended with the most serious consequences, as a general affray must then inevitably have ensued.

Indeed it was already very near it, for the two men remaining with me, having resumed their courage, were now brandishing their knives and vowing vengeance, till some of the natives spoke of chastising them, and daring them to the issue. Finding that they were determined to stand their ground, I ordered my men to desist from provoking them; this had the happiest effect, for their anger subsided sensibly. I now laid great stress on my interest with my friends Pomarrie and Edeah, explaining their certain indignation, when they learned that I had been thus treated, in any part of their dominions. I informed them, that it was chiefly on their business that I was induced to visit the islands; this was in some measure true, being commissioned to bring them as much ava as possible. Never were the lives of any adventurers more in the power of savages, than were ours at this time, for our boat being hauled up a considerable way, it was almost as impossible for us to launch her, as to move the island.

I now clearly saw that it was a concerted scheme, and having no friends, I thought it best to desist from any violent measures. I again addressed myself to the thief, and this being ineffectual, again requested the interference of the chief; after being thus driven from one to the other, the fellow at length proposed to return it upon condition of receiving a recompence. I was compelled to capitulate; this circumstance concurred with others to convince me, that from the greatest to the least, the island was little more than a receptacle for thieves.

I could not but impute the whole of this

scheme to the fellow whom I had taken with me at the request of Pomarrie, who had so artfully drawn us into this ambush. Disguising my suspicions, I offered him a passage back again, lest he should excite them to new outrages, and thinking that others were not as cunning as himself, he was persuaded to embark. After carrying him about a mile and an half, we resolved that he should swim for his perfidy, and we accordingly compelled him to take to the water; the fellow in the mean while protesting his innocence, and evidently apprehensive that he was about to be put to death.

We made a strong effort to reach Otaheite, but the wind being against us, and a very heavy sea, we were in danger of being swamped, and were therefore compelled to put back again. We took shelter in a cove nearly on the weather part of the island, and took up our lodgings in an old canoe. The people here treated us with great civility, though their means of supply was very scanty. There appeared indeed a very general scarcity over the whole island. From the first of our arrival, the weather had been very tempestuous, but for the two last days it blew an hurricane accompanied at times with rain, thunder, and lightning. Our lives were doubtless preserved by our returning as we did, for two of Pomarrie's canoes were swamped by persisting in their attempts to make the passage, and every man on board perished.

For powder or muskets I could have had any quantity of hogs I wanted, but they would trade for no other articles.

The weather at length becoming more settled, we returned to Otaheite, after an absence of nine days.

CHAP. XXVII.

OBSERVATIONS ON EIMEO....INFERIOR MUCH TO OTAHEITE....PREPARATIONS FOR AN EXPEDITION TO ATTAHOURA.

IN the mean time the captain and our shipmates had been very apprehensive for our safety. We complained heavily to Pomarrie and Edeah, of the perfidy of these islanders; they affected to lament this breach of hospitality, but it was all simulation. They recommended fire and devastation, the common mode of retaliation amongst those islanders. This mode of warfare, however, I thought most prudent to decline.

In this circuit around the island of Eimeo, I observed, that these islanders had but little to distinguish them from the Otaheitans. Tallow harbour is situated on the north-west side, and from a reef which surrounds it, in common with all the Society Islands, is somewhat difficult of access.

The entrance is most easy when the trade-wind blows fresh. Here and there may be found an opening sufficient to admit a ship, and this happens to be the case opposite Tallow harbour; there is here a sufficient opening and ample water for a first rate man of war. Once in

the inside, there is no farther danger to be apprehended, being perfectly land-locked, with space enough for half the royal navy of Great Britain.

It is impossible, however, to keep too good a look-out against the thievish propensity of the natives. In a word, the island is, in every respect, far inferior to Otaheite; it has not the same fertility, and nothing of the same hospitality in the reception of strangers.

I do not deny but that one cause of this latter defect might possibly be the comparative scarcity in the island of Eimeo; it was only here and there, that we could observe the bread and cocoa-nut tree, and at this time they seemed chiefly to exist on the mountain plantain and fish. Several of them were suffering very severely from dysenteries; perhaps this might be imputed to their diet. Wherever we stopt, we found that the main article of their subsistence was derived from the mountains and the sea.

Generally speaking, the hogs of Eimeo are larger than those of Otaheite: their tusks are immense, a circumstance which, added to their fierceness, renders them dangerous to approach. The island is governed by one of the relations of Edeah. The Eimean women are, to all appearance, much more industrious than the Otaheitan females; many of them were employed in making cloth, and whole families in preparing for an approaching visit to Ulitea. It appeared to me to be but thinly inhabited, and for the same reason as Otaheite, the prevalence of infant murder.

In the very first discovery of this island, they exercised their thievish propensity on one of the goats of captain Cook; and as it was the invariable practice of this excellent man, as little to suffer as to do an injury, he demanded the thief and the stolen property from the receiver of the stolen goods, that is to say, of the principal chief of the island. The usual excuses of absolute ignorance were pleaded, and while the negotiation was pending, a second goat was still more impudently stolen. Exasperated at this audacity, the captain threatened the chief, that unless the stolen property was immediately restored, and the thief given up to his merited indignation, he would destroy all the canoes on the island: and this menace he was compelled to execute in part before he could recover his goats.

It seemed natural to conclude, that this example would have worked some beneficial effect on their national character, and that future navigators would not have been exposed to similar depredations; but unfortunately the roguery of this people is beyond the healing power of salutary correction, and they will continue thieves as long as they shall continue savages.

It was at this time that a circumstance of a political nature occurred, which was of good effect to us, as tending to confirm our men in their present quietness. Pomarrie, and the people of Attahoura, as has been before mentioned, had made a peace in the year 1802. Pomarrie however had never wholly laid aside his designs of conquering them, and he had consented to the peace more from present convenience, and the advantage of

procuring time to collect new resources, than from wearinessof war, or from any pacific inclinations. The peace therefore was no sooner concluded than he applied himself vigorously to collect the means of a new war, and by the time that our people had landed from the wreck, he had become almost prepared to enter upon action.

One thing alone remained to be done. What could he not effect when seconded by such allies as our sailors ? He resolved therefore to spare no efforts to gain them. He explained his plans and the justice of his war, but justly concluding that they cared as little about the one as the other, he added the more powerful promise that the plunder should be theirs, hogs, women, and cloth. Our fellows could not withstand these temptations, and therefore agreed to follow him, and if necessary to fight for him. He next applied himself to the captain and me, and earnestly requested that we would lend him our assistance in so just and necessary a war.

As their private quarrels in no manner concerned us, we excused ourselves from his invitation, alledging that we had property to protect at Matavia. We informed him, however, that he was welcome to our boat and its materials, and as he saw that he could prevail on us no further, he thankfully accepted our offer. We added, however, that if his enemy should attack him either at Matavia, or Oparrie, his patrimonial estate, we would then defend him to the last extremity.

Satisfied with these assurances, in the beginning of August, 1803, Otoo the king, his brother Tereinavouroa king of Tiarabo, Pomarrie, Edeah

and her warriors, Paitia the brother of Pomarrie, and Awow his sister, together with ten Europeans, and all their adherents and fighting men, departed on this mighty expedition, leaving behind them some old women and fishermen to forage for the army. It was believed that, in the previous solemnities, no less than ten or twelve human sacrifices would be offered up to their gods upon this occasion. They proceeded forward in the most slow and cautious manner, measuring as it were every footstep.

It has been before mentioned, that their great idol Oro was kept in the moria of Attahoura, and being the great object of Otaheitan veneration, it is the general resort on all public solemnities. It is here that all their greater meetings are held, and their kings crowned; on which occasions human sacrifices are offered. The coronation of Otoo could not be complete till it was celebrated here; and the Attahourans, considering him as an usurper, had hitherto delayed it.

Terinavouroa, king of Tiarabo, died upon the march, leaving his wealth and government to his counsellor: his wife was very scantily provided, but being the cousin of Otoo, and the sister of the queen, she still continued to reside in the family. The greater part of his subjects, according to the custom of the country, came to the tupaow, or sepulchre at Oparrie, to pay their last respects to his obsequies. This tupaow is simply a stage supported on six posts, about four feet from the ground, the corpse being placed thereon in a sitting posture, arrayed in a scarlet dress, and during a certain period attended by his

former servants. The surgeon of the missionaries had been this chief's adopted Tayo, and had there not been one law for strangers, and another for themselves, he ought, as such, to have succeeded to the greater part of the property of the deceased. On the other hand, he was wholly neglected; perhaps, as his talents were not those of a warrior, they considered him not a very suitable chief.

Many of the natives, as ridiculously as impiously, imputed his death to the prayers of the missionaries; for they are persuaded that many of them are thus killed. Edeah was much afflicted with his death, he having been her favourite, as Otoo was that of Pomarrie.

The royal army having now arrived in the enemy's country, the rebels, as they were pleased to term them, affecting ignorance of their intention, gravely demanded the purpose of their visit; to which they as gravely replied in professions of friendship. The Attahourans, however, were on their guard.

It is not easy to conjecture what would have been the event, had either party ventured a battle. But the party of Pomarrie had now so increased in numbers, that the Attahourans were daunted at their very sight. Part of them accordingly submitted; and, as by this desertion the remainder became too weak to venture any further contest, they were compelled to follow their example. The whole country was thus subdued: Pomarrie immediately dispossessed the principal chiefs of their lands, and divided them among his own friends. Edeah had a great part of these forfeited domains; and Innamotooa, the widow

of Oripiah, the brother of Pomarrie, experienced in the same manner the royal munificence. She deserved it so well, that all but the sufferers joined in the praise of this act.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ARRIVAL OF A SHIP....DEATH OF POMARRIE....CHARACTER.

AFTER the unfortunate circumstance of the loss of our ship, our prospects at Otaheite were very gloomy. Having saved little or no property from the wreck, it became a subject of serious consideration in what manner we should subsist. Otaheite is as little calculated as Europe for those who are without money. It was moreover uncertain how long we should be compelled to remain in our present situation. To attempt building exceeded our means; we had lost our carpenter at the Sandwich Islands, and it was in vain to expect any assistance from any other of our people. Our command and authority over them had vanished since the wreck; every one now followed his own way, and appeared so attached to their present indolent life, that they seemed to have no intention of quitting it. Of the whole of our former crew, the cook and mate, the captain, and myself, were alone united in a common cause, that of returning to our native country. Our blacksmith had set up for himself amongst the

natives, and was in a very fair way of making a livelihood even in the worst of times. It was unfortunately not so with us; we knew it, but could not help ourselves.

The blessing of Providence, however, again interposed at a time that we had almost ceased to hope; for after we had been about three months in this suspence of hope and fear, one afternoon a shout of Te pahia, te pahia, A ship, a ship, resounding through the island, aroused us into new hopes. Hope and fear now alternately prevailed: our fears suggested that the captain might have some possible objection; that he was going to China, or some other more circuitous voyage. It so happened, however, that the goodness of Providence was not incomplete; the ship was going to the very place to which of all others we wished to go, to Port Jackson. We agreed with him for a passage; and in our present situation, laying aside all indignation at the conduct of our shipmates, we divided with them our remaining property.

There had been so many ceremonies to get through at Attahoura, that the business had not been finally settled upon the ship's arrival. The intelligence of this event, however, brought Pomarrie to Oparrie to prepare his presents; he had got his hogs in the canoe, and was half way to the ship, when he was seized suddenly with a fit, and falling with each hand on the side of the canoe, expired. The poor fellows in the canoe immediately paddled back as fast as possible to his house at Oparrie, where, in her way likewise to the ship, Edeah had by this time arrived. Mes-

senger after messenger was dispatched to the missionaries and their surgeon; they were earnestly intreated to hasten to the house of Pomarrie. The surgeon happened at this time to be on board the ship, taking a farewell leave of us upon our departure. We earnestly advised him, should he find Pomarrie still alive, not to venture to prescribe to him; as in the case of his death the natives would not fail to impute it to poison, and perhaps avenge his supposed murder on the mission. It has been before mentioned, that they imputed the death of Terinavouroa to the prayers of the missionaries; and that they are persuaded that the prayers of these holy men have this kind of sacred witchcraft. Under such impressions, it may readily be conceived that the situation of the missionaries is not the most enviable in the world.

Not one moment was lost on the part of the surgeon, who on his arrival found the whole of the family in the deepest anguish and distress. The brother of Pomarrie was deaf to all consolation, and could scarcely be withheld from suicide. All was anguish and confusion; some imputed his death to one cause, others to another; but the opinion of the majority was, that he had offended the gods, they could not agree by what means, except by his human sacrifices. They had recourse to one most singular remedy; the body of an human victim which he had sacrificed about three weeks before, was brought and stretched prostrate under him, in the hopes of appeasing the offended divinity.

The sudden and instantaneous death of this

man was not very unreasonably imputed by some to the enormity of his crimes, as well in this, as in other instances. Should these impressions continue, the most beneficial effects may be expected. None had more cause of regret in this event than the missionaries, to whom Pomarrie had ever continued a fast friend. They wrote to the captain of the ship, requesting him to remain till the morning, that the sense of the society might be taken in what manner to act upon this unexpected occurrence. The captain thought that he should lose nothing by compliance, and therefore consented.

The following morning Mr. Jefferson came to the ship, and informed us that after several consultations, the society had resolved to confide in the promises of Edeah, who said every thing would doubtless proceed as before. Mr Jefferson, at parting, requested me to desire their friends at home not to be over solicitous as to their safety. These were his words as far as I can remember them.

The Otaheitans will doubtless rack their brains to discover some probable cause of the death of Pomarrie; and after other conjectures, will perhaps impute it to some magical power from the ship. Should any one amongst them make this assertion, I have no doubt that he would be immediately seconded by his brethren, so general is their belief of supernatural agency. On the decease of his son about a month before, they were firmly persuaded that he had been charmed to death by the missionaries. They are moreover convinced that the greater part of their plagues

and diseases flow immediately from the shipping.

The loss of the missionaries in Pomarrie is I fear irreparable; but this is saying as much as can be said in his favour; for if he consented to a joint partnership with the missionaries, he fleeced his own subjects most unmercifully. Though this man possessed at least equal abilities with his father in things of a political nature, he was never able completely to subdue his enemies. They considered his government as an usurpation; and therefore never missed an opportunity of molesting his quiet. His affairs were thus not unfrequently in a very tottering situation.

The mutineers of the Bounty were a resource as fortunate as unexpected for the circumstances of Pomarrie. Being well skilled in the art of dissimulation, he had little difficulty in gaining them to his party, and with them an invincible advantage. His promises were unbounded; he had no scruple to promise, because he had no intention to perform. With the assistance of these heroes, for such were they considered by the natives, he was enabled to carry every thing before him; and in a very little time was acknowledged as king of the whole island.

Since this time there have doubtless been many risings and revolts; but upon the whole Pomarrie has prevailed over them all. Nor was this the only time that he was indebted for his safety to his European friends; as in the late war he would have been effectually ruined, had it not been for the assistance of the English, who happened at that time to be on the island. The enemy hither-

to victorious through their assistance, were now compelled to sue for peace, and the affairs of Pomarrie again re-established.

With regard to his personal qualities, he was a savage of unusual address, and indeed grace and majesty. He had something of the appearance of an uncommon man; his general manners were very engaging, but under the appearance of candour he had too much of the hypocrite.

In his prosperity he was insufferably proud towards his enemies; and as a necessary effect of the same sanguine temperament of mind, was equally dejected in his adversity. A proof of this has already been mentioned in his determination to abandon the island upon a partial defeat. Nor was this the only instance, as under similar circumstances he frequently applied to captains to convey him from the island.

The most singular trait in his character as a savage, was a species of prudence and foresight; a mind which was capable of forming and adhering to a certain proposed rule of conduct. His conduct to the Europeans, and countenance of the missionaries, were the effects of this political genius. Resisting the first impulse, which would have tempted a savage to plunder them without formality and delay, he formed a more refined plan, that of encouraging and going shares in their present and future stock. This as effectually answered their purpose as his.

CHAP. XXIX.

CRITICAL SITUATION OF AFFAIRS IN OTAHEITE....ZEAL OF THE MISSIONARIES....STUBBORNNESS OF BELIEF IN THE CHIEFS AND ROYAL FAMILY.

FROM the unjust and unwarrantable manner in which that family seized upon the property of their subjects, and their intolerable abuse of power, the country overflows with malcontents; and when the least shadow of success provokes them to action, they never fail to produce their claims. This is the rock upon which the family will sooner or later split. The present king, Otoo, is intolerable in this respect; and, like other great men, the greater part of his vices must be imputed to his flatterers. These miscreants demand with haughtiness, in the name of their master, whatever may suit their fancy, and consider whatever they thus extort as a kind of tribute. The gentle nature of the Otaheitans is thus spurred on to acts of rebellion. As there is no stimulus to industry, they are plunged as it were into a state of indolence, and therefore may be said to derive but little benefit from the fertility of the soil. Their social dispositions are most wonderfully susceptible of kindness; a smile, an affable address, and a look of approbation, will do any thing. An appearance of neglect or indifference gives them high offence. Nor is this temper peculiar to the Otaheitans; insult is proverbially more in-

tolerable than injury, and scorn and contempt more painful to a generous mind, than the most severe inflictions of fortune.

Otoo was still at Attahoura when his father died, and no intelligence had been as yet received from him when we sailed. How he felt this loss I cannot say, but it appears to me that the loss to the royal family must be irreparable. With the exception of Pomarrie and Edeah, none of them appeared to possess sufficient abilities either to manage their own people or awe their enemies. It is a crisis big with events for the Otaheitans. It is impossible to predict what may be the event.

Some time previous to the death of Pomarrie he had ordered a human sacrifice from the next district : the people were so exasperated against him on this account, that they suddenly rose upon him one night, and he escaped with difficulty to Matavai. His muskets, powder, and other valuables, were sent after him at a moment's notice.

There is some cause to hope, that this horrible practice of human sacrifice will be in some degree discontinued since the death of Pomarrie, for it is as much abhorred by the common people, as supported by the chiefs. Pomarrie was himself an high priest, and therefore thought he could never do enough for his God. He was ever endeavouring to extort from me and my companions presents for his divinity. By his artifice he contrived to hold the minds of his people in leading-strings upon the subject of religion, and many of them were firmly persuaded that he had such an interest with Oro, that his anger was sufficient to call down any punishment upon their heads. I have

no doubt that in this respect he was a most complete hypocrite, and in reality believed as little of the divinity of Oro as myself. It is indeed incredible what influence over the minds of the common people he procured by this hypocrisy.

The superstitions, extravagances, and religious observances of these people, are beyond all description ridiculous; they seem to have no analogy either in heaven or earth, and must baffle every investigation as to their origin.

It may be satisfactory to the friends of the missionaries to learn, that their prayer-meetings and public ordinances were constantly kept up, the morning and afternoon of every day, and on Sundays three times in the day. The natives, however, did not much attend. The brethren took it by turns to visit all the parts of the island within their reach on that day. The preaching, or rather the example of the missionaries, is not however wholly without effect; the Sabbath is called by the natives Mahanate Etooa, the Day of God; and however little attention, in every other respect, they pay to religion, their conduct in the immediate neighbourhood of Matavai, on this day, is more sedate and orderly than on any other. The missionaries have doubtless gained a small victory over them in this point, as likewise in another of still greater consequence; the greater part of their former obscenity in their public dances has disappeared, and in the neighbourhood of Matavai the Sunday has something of the semblance of a christian sabbath.

I am almost persuaded that they were chiefly indebted to Pomarrie for this mark of attention;

and a circumstance which I now recall to my mind, confirms me in this opinion. Pomarrie and myself were one day in conversation upon business of the usual nature, that of presents: he demanded of me some axes for presents to his friends at Attahoura; I knew at the same time that he had a hoard of forty or fifty, and was therefore out of all patience with his extortion. To elude him for the time I requested him to defer the business till to-morrow; it was Saturday that this occurred. No, replied he, you have no other intention but to amuse me; to-morrow is Mahanate Etooa, and I well know that no business must be done on that day. In a word, he would take no denial, and I thought it to be most prudent to accommodate him. I took care however, to give him some of the worst that I still possessed, and therefore selected some which were rendered almost useless by flaws. To these he applied a remedy in a moment, warming them in the forge, and filling up the flaws with pitch, after which besmearing them with dirt he said they were very good; very good indeed for presents.

From the evident advantage which the royal family derive from their joint partnership with the missionaries, I have little doubt that the purpose of Pomarrie in the encouragement of the missionaries was wholly political. The missionaries indeed neglect nothing to render their mission successful; on every sabbath day they range the country two by two in different directions. But I repeat, that I fear their efforts will for a long period be unsuccessful. They consider the mis-

sionaries as very good men, and love and esteem them accordingly, but they do not comprehend, and therefore do not believe, the articles of their religion.

It is perhaps expecting too much of them in their present state, to expect any thing of christian faith from a people so rude and barbarous: perhaps the missionaries, according to a trite proverb, have begun at the wrong end, preaching the mysteries of their religion, before they have laid a foundation by instructing them in its simple elements. It is doubtless wrong to temporise or falsify, in any of the slightest of its points of faith, the religion of truth; but there is room, ample room, for the exercise of discretion, in adapting their lessons to the natural capacities of their pupils. It is not necessary to teach them all in circumstances under which they cannot comprehend one half. The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation are not for Otaheitan understandings.

One Sunday evening, Mr. Jefferson requested permission to exhort Otoo and Terinavouroa, with all their followers; Otoo sent a messenger to me on the occasion, saying that he wished to see me; I accordingly went, and found Mr. Scot and Mr. Jefferson in the act of exhortation. Their congregation might amount to about fifty. Upon its conclusion, I demanded of Otoo what he wanted with me. He asked me, upon the departure of the missionaries, whether it was all true, as they had preached: I replied in the affirmative, that it was strictly so according to my own belief, and that of all the wiser and better part of my countrymen. He demanded of me

where Jehovah lived ; I pointed to the heavens. He said he did not believe it. His brother was, if possible, still worse. Edeah was looking on, with a kind of haughty and disdainful indifference. It was all havery or falsehood, adding, they would not believe unless they could see ; and observed, we could bring down the sun and moon by means of our quadrant, why could we not bring down our Saviour by similar means ?

It is indeed impossible for them to believe what they cannot comprehend, and to which they can find no analogy in any objects in their own country. I have not unfrequently amused myself by playing upon their ignorance, telling them that I lived in a country in which houses as large as those of Otaheite were erected on the water, such as the booths which may be seen in winter on the ice ; that water could be made support fire without extinguishing it ; and that I had seen animals as large as their largest hogs, roasted on a river. That my countrymen walked over its surface, boxing and wrestling, as in Otaheite ; that it might be broken in pieces, and that armies of an hundred thousand men, as in Holland, marched over it with dry shoes. It was ludicrous to see the fixed stares with which they would listen to these assertions; nor did I stop here, but added that we were acquainted with countries in which it was all day, and others in which it was an uninterrupted night; that we had sometimes rain as large as musket-balls, and that sometimes it changed its colour and descended like feathers, covering the whole country like a table-cloth. These things undoubtedly surpassed their understanding, and therefore their powers

of belief. Is it any reasonable subject of astonishment, that their minds should be equally inaccessible by any of the mysteries of religion? That every thing originated from the wisdom and power of God; that the earth, the heavens, and all created beings, obeyed the creative mandate, Let there be light, and there was light; that man was a free agent created with a certain degree of natural excellence, and capable of more; that he abused his free agency, and became unworthy of his Creator: that the mystery of the redemption again raised him to his former level, and satisfied the justice of his God: these are mysteries beneath which an Otaheitan understanding must sink confounded. It is not until the lapse of many years, that, in the true sense of the word at least, the Otaheitans can become christians. The first converts of the apostles were the citizens of the most learned and polite nation of the ancient world.

Most of the missionaries had made great advances in the Otaheitan language, and their companions were studying it with the most indefatigable industry. They are building two boats, from eighteen to twenty tons, with the purpose of visiting the islands to the leeward. One of these boats was in great forwardness. Some of their wood was from the island of Eimeo, and they had extracted a kind of pitch from the Tapow or gum of the bread-fruit tree. On my return to Port Jackson, I learned from one of the resident missionaries of that settlement, that a supply of canvass, pitch, and tar, had been sent to them by a ship which proposed to touch at Otaheite for refreshment.

CHAP. XXX.

MORTALITY IN THE ISLAND....CIRCUMSTANCES RELATIVE TO THE STATE OF THE MISSIONARIES....CONTEMPT OF OLD AGE AMONG THE OTAHEITANS.

THE missionaries had made the circuit of the island twice during the time we had been amongst them, preaching from district to district, and seconding their exhortations by presents. If zeal in the discharge of their duty could insure success, the missionaries would not preach in vain.

In their circuits they have successfully endeavoured to come at the exact number of the people. It is melancholy to add, that the population has diminished in a degree which threatens to render the country a desert. Captain Cook computed them at upwards of two hundred thousand; the population has now dwindled to five thousand. On the arrival of the Duff, they exceeded triple this number.

The mortality which raged at this period, and which I fear is but too epidemic and frequent, was such as to inspire us with the most melancholy ideas. During our short absence in our visit to the Sandwich Islands, many young persons of both sexes were no more; they had died in the prime and vigour of life, and others of an appearance equally healthy were following them very fast. Great part of this mortality must be imputed to

their ignorance; the doctrine of fatality prevails amongst them to a most fatal excess. Every disease is the immediate consequence of the vengeance of their offended Deities, and therefore every thought of remedy or relief is rejected, as equally useless and impious. They are left to their fate; and their diseases are unfortunately such, as, however easy of cure under a regular course, are but too fatal when suffered to augment under neglect.

They entertain the greatest contempt for old age; and if they disliked any of our articles, were accustomed to say, it was as worthless as an old man.

At the time of our sailing, Mr. Not, one of the missionaries (the most forward in the language) was absent upon the affairs of his mission at Eimeo; he was accompanied by another gentleman whose name I cannot at this moment recall. Mr. Elder and Mr. Wilson had just returned from the Mottos or low islands to the northwards. They reported that the population of these islands did not exceed three hundred.

Mr. Jefferson had opened a school, but only one native attended; this was the daughter of a European, one of the crew of the Matilda. Mr. Eyre and Mr. Henry live in a new house together, built for them by the society; the large house not having been found sufficient to accommodate them all. Mrs. Eyre was in good health, considering her years; Mrs. Henry had risen from her accouchement about six weeks.

They apparently lived together in the greatest love and harmony, and all of them present an

example of industry. Their situation, however, is by no means so comfortable as many of our countrymen may be inclined to imagine; for as their stock of European articles decreases, they must proportionately lose their influence over the natives.

They possess a public garden very well stocked and cultivated, and the greater part of them a private one not much inferior. The space inclosed within the palisades of the public garden, is about four acres; it seems natural to imagine, that its beauty and utility would have acted as a stimulus to the natives to imitate their industry. The indolence of the Otaheitans, however, is beyond the cure of any common remedy.

In the gardens of the missionaries are lemon, lime, orange, peach, and citron trees, in great number and perfection; they have moreover patches of the tarra-root, Indian corn, and indigo. It must be some years, however, before they can expect to derive any considerable advantage from these.

The missionaries at my departure were very anxious to receive intelligence from their friends in England, and were in daily expectation of the arrival of one of their ships. Edeah observed, in a manner which it was not difficult to interpret, that this ship was a long time coming. The missionaries seem well satisfied with their situation. Some of them, however, expressed a wish that some decent young women of character might be sent over to Otaheite as wives, and I do not think it unreasonable that the society should comply with this request.

As their chief subsistence, the fruit of the bread tree, is becoming rather scarce at Matavai, it is their intention upon the arrival of the next missionary-ship, to retreat to the isthmus, should they not receive contrary orders from the directory. It was not their intention to finally abandon Matavai, but to leave two or three of the missionaries there to carry on the missionary business, and interpret for shipping occasionally. The natives will not be altogether pleased with this removal. They respect the missionaries, and in some respect regard them with astonishment. Their comparative purity of manners, their indifference to their women, and their peaceable and upright deportment, are subjects of their wonder; and as their minds unfold to the knowledge of morals, they will continue to increase in their esteem and regard for these men.

The missionaries tell them that the God of Britain is the God of Otaheite and the whole earth, and that it is from this Being that they receive their hogs, bread-fruit, and cocoa-nut. This the Otaheitans flatly deny; alledging, that they possessed all these articles long before they had heard of the God of Britain. The ignorance of these people in this respect is indeed lamentable.

Though upon the first arrival of the missionaries, the district of Matavai had been ceded to them, the natives still persist in considering them as there by sufferance. The missionaries seem to think that it would be much to their advantage if the society would allow them a small vessel, which might be stationed off Otaheite. The ex-

pence of this would be small; that of provisioning it would be next to nothing. By the carriage of pork to Port Jackson, and bringing salt from the Sandwich Islands, it might almost clear its own expences. This expedient is not without something to recommend it. At port Jackson they would have frequent opportunities of learning the mandates of the directors, for want of which they are at present often much embarrassed.

A mission to the Sandwich Islands might be attempted by the same means; and if found impracticable, they would have an opportunity of returning by this vessel, and again join their brethren at Otaheite.

CHAP. XXXI.

PARTICULAR CUSTOMS AMONGST THE OTAHEITANS....EXCLUSION OF THE WOMEN FROM EATING WITH THE MEN....CLEANLINESS AND ATTENTION TO DRESS....LUDICROUS INSTANCE OF SIMPLICITY AMONGST THE NATIVES.

IT would be losing our labour in a maze to which there is neither beginning nor end, to endeavour to give any regular history of the Otaheitans. Suffice it to say upon this subject, that in the comparison of their present and former situation one inference is clear, that they have reaped no advantage from their intercourse with Europeans. The greater part of their character-

istic simplicty has now vanished, and has given place to selfish cunning, and the artifice of low minds. Their communication with Botany Bay has been productive of the most baleful effects.

Their original and national customs, still remain unchanged. The most singular of these respect the women, and the royal family.

It is profanation in an Otaheitan woman to eat with a man; the women must on all occasions eat by themselves. The ladies of the royal family, and women of the first rank, are the only exceptions to this rule.

Being thus compelled to associate together, they live in a more perfect harmony with each other than would otherwise exist amongst them. I do not know that I ever saw any dispute between these women; the boxing matches which I have mentioned, being mere ceremonies and national amusements.

Should it so happen, that the husband and his wife cannot agree, there is no restraint on their separation; and as such is the custom of the country, neither of them are considered as having violated any duty, or broken any contract.

There is nothing for which the Otaheitans are more distinguished than for their cleanliness. Both men and women bathe twice, sometimes thrice in the day, and prefer fresh water to salt upon this occasion. They are very particular in the adjustment and nice composition of their hair, anointing it with cocoa-nut oil and the perfume of the sandal wood. They spend much of their time at their looking-glass, and with their scissars; and if any glasses are offered to them by

which their features are disfigured, they return them with an indignant Owhow, owhow ; their grimaces on these occasions are truly ludicrous.

The bonnets of the women are very neat ; and, together with the sweet scented flowers resembling our English lilies, with which they adorn their hair, much improve their air of natural simplicity. These bonnets, made of the leaves of the cocoa-nut split into fibres, are of various colours, according to the fancy of the wearers; and as the only cost is the time and trouble of making them, they usually appear in a new one every second or third day : every one is in this respect her own milliner.

Much has been said as to the licentiousness and loose conduct of the women. It is but justice to say, that I saw nothing of this. Their ideas of decency are doubtless very different from ours ; they must be judged therefore by a very different standard.

Their dispositions are gentle to an extreme. I never saw an Otaheitan out of temper the whole time I was in Otaheite. The paramour of Edeah, and brother of Pomarrie, are indeed exceptions. Their manners are perhaps softer in the immediate neighbourhood of the missionaries than in the remoter parts.

They are ardent in the love and praise of their country, and believe it to be the finest part on the whole habitable globe. Some of them do not hesitate to say, that we visit their country for its sweet food.

An Otaheitan will not suffer a hair about him, with the exception of his head. It is a great part

of their daily occupation to remove them, either by a razor, or plucking them up by the roots. They impute all their diseases to their intercourse with Europeans. Such a ship they observe introduced the dysentry, such a ship the fever, and such a ship the hump-back. They go so far as to say, that a ship passing the island has sent a disease amongst them.

They may be most easily imposed upon in any thing which falls within their own ideas. The following is a ludicrous proof of this assertion.

Upon the return of the captain to Otaheite, after the fatal accident which had happened to the ship, his wearing apparel had become intolerably dirty; and being reduced to a very small stock, it was necessary to make the best of a bad situation. We were wholly however without that most necessary article for personal cleanliness, soap. Necessity is the mother of invention; we resolved to make some soap-lye of the ashes of fern. Our people assured us that they had known fern-ashes to suit this purpose, where wood-ashes had failed. We collected therefore a good quantity, and having burnt it, mixed it with water. The natives assembled around us, and were all attention and curiosity. They began to think that we were at length reduced to our last necessity, and were about to make gunpowder. The grittiness of the ashes after the water was poured off, encouraged this idea. Some of them, inquiring of our people if this were not the case, were informed, for the jest's sake, that it was.

The intelligence spread far and wide, that the grand arcanum, the mystery of mysteries, was now about to be revealed; our house was accor-

dingly so crowded with natives, that we had scarcely room to move. Our people spared nothing to complete the jest: the composition was stirred, and stirred again; and the natives requested to keep their distance, and not disturb the important business. They might depend upon it, that their curiosity should not lead them to the knowledge of our secret; we would do nothing till the coast was clear. It is impossible to describe the eager anxiety to which these manœuvers worked up their minds; they would have cheerfully sacrificed whatever they held most dear, to arrive at the knowledge of this invaluable arcanum.

Our people, however, were not as yet satisfied: they deemed something yet wanting to the perfection of the jest. Lest any attempt should be made to steal its precious materials, the tub was anxiously watched by regular sentinels. It was sometimes taken out of doors, and exposed to the sun to rarify it, but was brought in again with all due care. When any inquiries were made, how long it might be before it would be fit for use, our people would answer, a fortnight, and on the following day remove it again to be rarified by the sun. Never did the busy brain of a chemist search with greater ardour for the philosopher's stone, than the Otaheitans for this secret. They were maddened with impatience, for so closely were they watched, that they could steal nothing; and if they had done so, we gave it out that some of the principal ingredients were yet wanting, and this indeed we might well say without any violation of truth.

I now, however, began to regret that the jest

had been carried so far; for our sailors availing themselves of the delusion of the natives, began to make their advantage of it, and to sell them portions of the worthless rubbish for cocoa-nuts, &c. At the time of the bargain they requested the Otaheitans not to move or stir the composition for the space of a week; and well knowing that their impatience would not admit this long restraint, they preconcerted to avail themselves of this excuse in the subsequent discovery of the inutility of what they had sold them.

As I am now on the subject of their credulity, I cannot omit an instance of it, which is said to have happened during the visit of captain Vancouver. One of his sailors being on shore was followed, as usual, by the curious multitude. Having a river to ford, the sailor pulled up his trowsers; the natives were panic-struck to discover that his legs were deformed, and hesitated to cross the river, lest they should catch the infection. He was immediately forsaken, and left to pursue his walk alone.

Our jugglers and conjurers would have a most glorious time amongst these people; they would only have to tell them that their lives were in their power, and they would obtain an easy and general credit. I cannot but picture to my imagination the boundless effects which would thus be produced. The most common chemical and philosophical experiments would appear to these men as so many miracles. Were the missionaries to imitate the ancient jesuits, and avail themselves of this expedient, they would require nothing more to render themselves both feared and believed.

But the religion of truth must not be thus raised on the foundation of error. The good sense of mankind has long rejected the sophism, that the end excuses the means.

CHAP. XXXII.

SUPERSTITION OF THE OTAHEITANS....EMPLOYMENT....INDOLENCE .. BAY OF MATAVAI....CURIOSITY OF THE NATIVES.

THE Otaheitans, though it may not be so visible amongst them upon a slight intercourse, are a most superstitious race. Nothing can happen but what they previously know by their dreams. They have their diviners without end; and Pomarrie himself was not the least considerable of their number. They pretend to foresee the arrival of a ship some days before it enters their harbour. They have a singular method of detecting the thief, in any case of stolen goods, by applying to a person possessing the spirit of divination, who, they observe, is always sure to show them the face of the thief reflected from a callabash of water. The anger of Pomarrie as high priest, was believed to be of the most fatal effect, and every chief was in like manner considered as having some supernatural second. However this has been managed, it reflects more credit on the ingenuity of the chiefs, than on the good sense of the people.

Pomarrie (it is our own fault if we believe him) asserted to the missionaries that he had a distinct

intimation of their arrival. They pretend moreover that they had the same pre-sentiment of being visited by a canoe of unusual magnitude, some nights before the arrival of the first ship that ever visited their island. Pomarrie, in the same manner, anticipated the arrival of the bible, or speaking-book of the Etooa (God) amongst them; they informed me that our ship was mattamoie, or dead, about the time of her being cast away.

Perhaps there are no people in the world more rootedly bigoted to their customs than the Otaheitans; and the more extravagant and ridiculous that these practices are, with so much more tenacity do they retain them. There is in this respect a very striking resemblance between the Otaheitans and others of the same complexion in Asia. How long has the intercourse of Europe and Asia existed in vain! and with regard to any change in the customs or religion of the latter, I fear that the missionaries will not find the Otaheitans less obdurate.

Paternal authority and filial duty are reduced to nothing in Otaheite. The father is nothing after the birth of his son; he is considered as supplanted by a being of more importance, and therefore sinks comparatively into a cypher. He is no longer of importance than as the father of his son. Pomarrie had nearly fallen a victim to this unnatural prejudice; as his son Otoo, under the suggestions of Mannemane the high priest, was about to become the muderer of his father. The tree in the fable is here verified; the parent stock is torn into pieces by wedges from its own body. The vigilance of Edeah discovered the

secret machination, and Mannemane was assassinated, or rather justly put to death for his perfidy.

In matters of government there is no perceptible inferiority of the sexes: and when the supreme power happens to fall upon a woman, they are obeyed as implicitly as if they were of the other sex. Many of them are thus chiefs, and govern in their several districts with as much authority as the men. Their complexion generally is some shades darker than new copper; something between a mulatto and what is called a light negro. The fishermen, being exposed to the sun and weather, are much darker. Their stature in general is above the common standard of Europeans. They are well proportioned, their features placid and regular, but their noses, occasioned by pressure in their infancy, universally flat: their teeth large, white, and well set, and their hair a jet glossy black. Fashion, however, has some dominion in this respect even in Otaheite; the two queens and many of the chiefs, that they may appear superior to their subjects, have changed the colour of their hair to a light brown, a change effected by the shell lime or other dye. The natives in general take great pains in the graceful adjustment of their hair; whilst that of the two queens, for the sake of distinction, I suppose, is matted and twisted so as to bear no ill resemblance of a shaggy uncombed wig.

Many of the women of the Sandwich Islands have a toupee on their forehead, stained, by means of the shell lime, as white as snow; this was intended as an ornament, but, as contrasted

with their complexion, rendered them truly horrible.

The chief employment of the men is that of building houses and canoes, fishing, &c. Pomarrie was in this respect one of the most experienced artists in the country. For the month previous to his expedition to Attahoura, his sole employment, was in building a canoe as an offering to his Etooa.

The women of Otaheite are much less industrious than those of any of the other islands which I visited. Their employment, when the humour takes them, is that of weaving mats, some of which occupy them for nine months. Their cloth is of various lengths, from four to thirty yards, and from two to four wide. The thick cloth is made by cementing together two or more layers of fine: the cement employed upon this occasion is the root pee, beat up like potatoe starch, but is much superior and more of a paste.

The coarser cloth is worn by the fishermen, persons employed in drudgery, and for night covering. The women of the royal family, particularly Edeah and Pomarrie's sister, are the best manufacturers on the island: they are particularly nice in their choice of the patterns they intend to adopt; the leaf of the fern-root is their favourite figure. Their dye is extracted either from the juice of a berry or the bark of a tree: the juice of the berry is for the red and lighter colours; the dye is extracted from the soaking and bruising of the bark, for the brown and darker; the turmerick, with which the island abounds, is used for the yellow.

They are better in the projection than in the execution of any enterprise, and with them every thing is an enterprise. A journey to the Mottos, a distance of about twenty miles, is a grand undertaking, a perfect grand tour, and occupies their thoughts and conversation for many months. Edeah had been upwards of a year in preparation for a tour to the leeward islands; the purport of this visit was an embassy to procure from the chiefs of these islands an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Otoo.

The royal canoe, which was double, was one of the largest and strongest on the island; it was sixty feet in length, and secured by five rafters instead of three; these were lashed together by thongs formed from the fibres of the cocoa-nut: a ponderous and unwieldy mass, only calculated to sail before the wind. Its height at the stern was upwards of eighteen feet, but from the middle forward it did not exceed four feet and a half; on the forepart was a large platform, terminated in front by a breastwork about three feet high. The intermediate space between the breastwork and the end of the platform, was to be occupied by a temporary house for the accommodation of the royal traveller. It was intended that she should have been accompanied by a fleet of canoes advancing in procession; but the sudden death of Pomarrie must doubtless have defeated this intention: the presence of Edeah was thus rendered too necessary to admit of her departure.

The bay of Matavai is well sheltered against all winds except those from the west and northwest. It was in one of these gales that the Nor-

folk had been driven on shore. The prevailing wind is the south-east, which blows strongest from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon; but for some months in the earlier part of the year, the winds set in strongly from the westward, accompanied with torrents of rain and much thunder and lightning. It is in this season however that the islanders of Ulitea, Huaheine, &c. accustom themselves to visit Otaheite. The canoes in which they make these visits, are such a crazy kind of craft, that whole families are sometimes lost or cast away upon some desolate island. Captain Cook touching at Watteo, a distance of four hundred miles from Otaheite, found there three natives of the Society Islands: these were the only survivors out of thirty who had suffered shipwreck, the other twenty-seven having perished at sea. In such canoes as those of the Uliteans, a voyage to Otaheite in such weather is more dangerous than a voyage to the East Indies amongst us.

Adjoining to our house the fishermen used to haul up their grand fleet of canoes; twenty of them were sometimes together, adorned with streamers of eight or ten yards in length; these streamers were composed of feathers, bearing a great resemblance to the tail of a boy's kite.

They had always full employment in repairing their nets and other crazy tackle. They were as troublesome as their countrymen of all other descriptions; and introduced themselves into our house with as little ceremony. We submitted to their impertinence with a good grace, and thus obtained their good words. Perhaps we did not

affix the greatest value to these compliments; but had any necessity compelled us to put their sincerity to the test, I am persuaded that we should have found them of still less value than we had rated.

CHAP. XXXIII.

FOOD AND MANNER OF COOKING....UTILITY OF THE BREAD-FRUIT TREE....VARIOUS METHODS OF FISHING

THROUGH all the islands they have invariably the same method of procuring fire; taking two pieces of wood, and making a groove in one for the other to traverse in, they rub them together, till the friction produces smoke, and the smoke flame. A bundle of dry-grass serves them as tinder.

Their method of killing a hog is by strangulation; they twist so many coils of a rope round the neck till the animal expires. They usually moisten the bristles with water, and then singe them off by a fire of grass and dried leaves. During the time of my trading round the island, several of the hogs in the boat were suffocated by overlaying one another: I presented these to the chiefs, who received them very thankfully.

Their manner of cooking their hogs, bread-fruit, &c. is by digging a hole in the earth according to the size required; a wood fire is then made in it and covered with stones, and the stones

being thus heated, one half of them is left at the bottom, and the other strewed over the animal or other substance at the top;* the whole is then covered in with layers of the leaves of the bread-fruit, and closed up with dirt. It is in this manner left until it is done; and by frequent practice they are such good judges, that they are seldom mistaken.

They have only two methods of cooking, baking and broiling. They make an excellent pudding of a root resembling our potatoe; it is pounded with the pulp of the cocoa-nut, and afterwards ground fine by a muller; it is then carefully wrapped up in plantain leaves, and when properly baked is by no means unpalatable.

Their evea apple which is generally in season six months of the year, makes an excellent apple-sauce for their pork, nearly as good as our English apple, except that it is more stringy. They have mountain yams likewise in the interior, but as these cannot be got without the trouble of digging to a good depth, the Otaheitans suffer them to remain where they are.

And here I must not forget to mention that their pork, when not overgrown, is really excellent, but their poultry is stringy and tough, the very coarsest of our beef is much preferable to it. Having no salt, their substitute for seasoning is salt water.

They have the tarra root and sweet potatoe; but these articles were not in great plenty, and

* In hogs of a large size some heated stones are introduced into the belly.

were therefore dear. They have a root which they call tee, somewhat resembling a yam: when baked and pressed it produces a juice as sweet as molasses, and when boiled is nearly of the same consistence. I used to breakfast upon this and Indian corn, roasting the latter in lieu of coffee. Popoy is a dish in general use amongst these people; it is a mixture of the bread-fruit and mahie, well beat up together, and mixed with the juice of the cocoa-nut; the mountain plantain is sometimes added: it nearly resembles our frumentary. I could never be persuaded to do more than taste it, from the nauseating process of its mixture. The natives, however, are very fond of it, and seldom make a meal without it.

Upon any appearance of a scarce season, they collect the bread-fruit when near ripe, and, removing the outer rind, lay it up in heaps till it becomes soft; a pit is then dug, and the sides and bottom carefully lined with bread-fruit leaves. The pit thus prepared is filled with fruit, and carefully closed up with leaves, grass and stones. After remaining for some time in this manner, the pit is re-opened, and the fruit freed from its core; it is again stored and covered in with fresh leaves till required for use. It is said that the fruit thus preserved will remain good till the following season of the bread-fruit tree. Some of the missionaries, apprehensive of a scarce season, had adopted this method in common with the natives, but in my opinion nothing can be more unpalatable. Taste, however, like every thing else, is formed by habit, and mahie may at length become tolerable to the missionaries.

The Otaheitans, indeed, have the mountain plantain at all seasons of the year; but they have a great dislike to climb the mountains after it, being much afraid of the wild hogs, which are very fierce. It is moreover a two days journey, and therefore is an object of terror to the indolent Otaheitans.

The Oura or bread fruit, the bread of all the Society Islands, grows on a tree not unlike a middle-sized oak; the leaves both in colour and substance much resemble a fig-leaf, but are much larger and have scolloped edges. The fruit grows on all the branches, in the same manner as the apples in Europe. It is said that, though cut down to the root, it will shoot up again so as to bear fruit in five or six years. During the late hostilities many of them were cut down in the neighbourhood of the missionaries house to prevent any sudden enterprise from the enemy. For general purposes it is by far the most useful wood in the country. It has the property of resisting worms better than any other wood in the country. It also yields a strong gum, called by the natives tapow; this is of great use to the natives in their canoes, being an excellent substitute for pitch. They procure it by tapping the trees. Our boat had suffered much by being dragged over the rough and craggy banks of their shores and rivers; whatever repairs we gave it whilst at Otaheite, were always effected by means of this tree. It at once supplied us with plank and pitch.

The fruit has been so often described as scarcely to need repetition: in few words, it is of the

size and shape of a melon, and of a green colour in all its stages; the inside, when baked, much resembles the crumb of wheaten bread, but when very ripe eats more like our gingerbread. It is as white in colour as our wheaten bread, but not so farinaceous. It is an invaluable blessing to the inhabitants of this part of the globe; and proves that these islanders, barbarous and savage as they are, are not excepted from the eye and general care of an all-wise Providence.

The sea, as I have before said, is their most certain and most inexhaustible magazine. They have fish of many kinds, and generally in great plenty. Their method of catching them is by the seine, angling, and the harpoon with two or three prongs; in all these methods they are equally dexterous. They dart the harpoon with the greatest accuracy, and sometimes surrounding a shoal of fish, and driving them into shallow water, they have most active sport. In dark nights they illuminate the reef and shores, and by this means decoy the fish into shallow water, and ensnare them in their nets in great quantities.*

I have seen an Otaheitan spring from the beech and catch a fish whilst swiming in the water. They catch an immense quantity of the smaller fry, by a seine made for the purpose; this is employed at the mouths of the rivers, and sweeps every thing before it by thousands a t time.

Fish is a favourite dish amongst them; they frequently eat them raw, and always very much

* This method is not peculiar to the Otaheitans. The author has seen the same practised in other countries.

under done. It is but seldom that the common people can indulge themselves on a repast of pork. When we killed any hogs, the natives had sad scrambling for the offal. The native boys employed by us as servants, were allowed these as their perquisites to make presents to their friends ; they were surrounded therefore by the more cunning of the countrymen, who endeavoured to inveigle themselves into their good graces, hanging on them like leeches, till they had squeezed them out of all they had to give.

It is one amongst the customs of the Otaheitans, to share a part of their food with every one about them, so that the first possessor is frequently the least gainer in the end. Having learned this to be the practice, I generally contrived to reserve a part of my offal for the royal family ; this was suited to their taste, and fortunately equally suited to my convenience. Whatever remained, after our servants were satisfied, was exchanged to advantage for bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and bananas, and we were usually plentifully supplied on these occasions.

The royal family seldom kept but a small portion of the offal for themselves, but usually gave it to their dependants, who devoured it like so many vultures. These fellows were not ill pleased that they fared so well ; and as they possessed great influence over the king, it was to our interest that they should be thus satisfied.

Upon the reef which is situated about half of a mile from the shore, they have shell-fish of almost every kind ; clams, wilks, cokles, conchs, cray-fish, crabs, sea-eggs, and muscles.

The reef seems to be more particularly appropriated to the women, who seldom go out to fish in the canoes. They flock to the reefs in droves, and in any scarcity of fish remain up to the middle in water the greater part of the day. Half the time would chill an European to death. The Otaheitan, however, seems wholly to disregard it; they wash themselves in the fresh-water river as they come from the sea, and then proceed to their houses to cook the fruits of their industry. There can be no doubt that from this long continuance in the water arise many of their more common diseases; such as fevers and rheumatisms, which are very prevalent amongst them.

Were it not for the richness and fertility of the island, and the inexhaustible stores of the ocean, the natives could barely exist: their indolence is so invincible by any prudential consideration, that I am persuaded they would almost starve rather than undergo the fatigues of European cultivation.

Add to this the oppression of their chiefs, the condition of the Otaheitans will be long before it is enviable.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE HOUSES OF THE OTAHEITANS....FURNITURE....FORM OF GOVERNMENT....INFLUENCE OF THE PRIESTS.

THE houses of the royal family and great chiefs bear a near resemblance to an English cart-shed; they are usually of an oval shape, the sides being formed of railing about two inches apart, so as to admit the current of air. These pales are about six feet in height, and, together with a range of posts, serve as supporters to the roof. From three to five wooden pillars, according to the size of the house, are placed longitudinally in the middle; a ridge rafter is fixed to the top of these pillars, and the rafters intended to support the roof descend from this ridge to the posts before mentioned, projecting three or four feet beyond. A rim runs round the whole building on the top of the posts, to which the rafters of the roof are bound; it is then very neatly thatched with the palm leaf.

There are no divisions or subdivisions in these houses; you are no sooner within them than you see every thing. The house of Edeah is built near the spot where captain Cook had established his observatory; and from that memorable event has been called Point Venus. It is the most completely furnished of any in the country, having an European bedstead formed of two boxes which she has procured from some of her old ac-

quaintances, and which contain all her European treasure.

The floors are spread to the thickness of three or four inches with great quantities of grass; this is spread so carefully and neatly, that scarce a blade could be found lying the wrong way. These houses are generally surrounded with a kind of court-yard railed around with stout railing about three feet high; the whole yard is in the same manner strewed with grass. In this yard are sheds and smaller huts, as a kind of offices for the attendants and menial servants. Here they pass their time with one another seated on the ground, or stretched at full length; jesting, humming a tune, drumming, &c. When the royal family happen to be at Matavai, there is little else but drumming and playing on their flutes from morning till night.

When the royal family or chiefs travel by water, they have a small hut or moveable tent fixed in the front part of the canoe, which prevents them from being exposed either to the sun or weather. The women of the chiefs are for the most part much fairer than others. The huts of the natives in general, are but little superior to so many sheds; some of them covered with grass, others not. Nature having done so much for them as to encourage their natural disinclination to the labour of cultivation, they employ their time for the most part in amusements and conversation with each other. They associate much together, and have their stories, songs, and country diversions, as well as more civilized countries.

When the weather sets in for severe, they cover in the weather side of the house with mats of the cocoa-nut leaf, two or three in thickness.

Their whole furniture, even that of the royal family, consists only of a few wooden stools about six or seven inches in height, and the side of an old canoe, which answers the purpose of a bedstead for the chief, as the stools supply that of a pillow: the remainder of their furniture consists of a few country baskets, some of them from the Sandwich Islands; a wooden tray or two in which they mix their popoy, ava, &c. a piece of hard wood, and a stone muller employed for pounding; some of the country gourds, cocoa-nut shells, and a scoop-net. This is a complete inventory of their best furnished houses. To these indeed may be added such presents as they have received or stolen from the ships; but as these have nothing to say to the peculiarities of the country, and are never used by them, it is not to our purpose to enumerate them.

Edeah had many of this latter kind; old sauce-pans, frying-pans, and grid-irons; she wished much to exchange them with me for gun-powder, but I declined her pressing offer. They were scattered about her house like so much lumber.

Their careless manner of sleeping cannot much conduce to their health. Without any consideration of damps, or the moistness of the night air, they throw themselves on the ground. This cannot but be productive of some of those disorders,

which in their ignorance they impute to European contagion.

From the best information I was enabled to obtain, their government is regal and hereditary. The power or ambition of an enterprising chief will indeed often disturb the regularity of succession; but the principle of hereditary government seems to be fundamental. The usurper, if sufficiently powerful, transmits the supreme power to his son. Such was the case in the usurpation of Pomarrie.

The common people may be said to possess little or no property; for should they happen to possess any thing of more than ordinary value, the king seldom fails to hear of it through the medium of the miscreants by whom he is surrounded. The article is then demanded for his use, and it is prudent in the owner to submit. Reluctance is construed into an act of rebellion; and the object thenceforth marked down, and in all probability becomes the next human sacrifice; the common people complain heavily, and with great justice, of these atrocious sycophants, who plunder as often for themselves, as for their master.

No one is allowed to approach the king without uncovering their head and shoulders as low as their breasts: not even their own parents are exempted from this act of homage. Europeans are alone excepted. In travelling, the king and queen are carried on the shoulders of their attendants; this custom, however, only continues till the performance of a certain ceremony, that of his coronation and circumcision at Attahoura.

They are on no account suffered to walk but on particular spots sacred to their use. Should they enter the house of any one except their own, that house must be immediately pulled down. It was from this cause, that though Otoo and myself were next-door neighbours for several months, he never visited me, but sent for me five or six times in the day, always pretending some childish errand.

The king's deputies, having absolute power, lord it with a very high hand; they are proud and ostentatious, and besides their own wife, have generally two or three of the finest women in the country as concubines. Unmarried women of rank have also their favourite men with whom they cohabit at pleasure, nor does this practice excite either surprise or censure. I was informed that the king's wife had borne two children by her attendants; and Edeah, his mother, has had several since her separation from Pomarrie.

These were all strangled the moment after their birth, according to the practice of the infamous Arreoys, of whom the royal family are the chief members. They alledge as their excuse that they are the offspring of a base connection. They do not consider this abominable practice as having any criminality; many of them will frankly acknowledge how many they have killed.

It appears that a far greater number of females than males fall a victim to this national depravity.*

* When reproaching Pomarrie with this barbarous and inhuman practice, he alledged in reply, that should the births be brought forward, there would not be a sufficiency of food in the island for their support.

This may be imputed to two causes: in the first place, it has been invariably so practised by their ancestors; in the second, the greater difficulty and restrictions which are required to bring up a female than a male.

The Arreoys are a society so licentious and profligate, as to call loudly for punishment, even from divine vengeance. The very principle of their union is the community of their women, and the murder, at the moment of their birth, of all their issue of both sexes. By a strange and most lamentable perversity of mind, these wretches are venerated as a superior order of beings, and are treated as such wherever they go. I am persuaded that the example of these murderers extends this horrible mischief beyond themselves: the common people of all countries usually judge, and in consequence act, more from the example of their superiors, than as guided by their own reason. The Otaheitans may thus be led to imitate what they see in their Arreoys. I believe, throughout the whole island it is a matter of choice, whether a child shall be brought up or murdered. This mischief is inconceivable; their dissolute and abandoned principles spread like a pestilence, and, what renders it still worse, they rove from island to island, and every where disseminate the same poison. I find it difficult to speak of this society without horror. Would it be credible to any one who received it on less authority than that of the testimony of one navigator confirmed by a series of every succeeding one, that there existed on the surface of the globe a people of both sexes, who, deaf to the instinct of

nature, and the clear reproach of even natural reason, can thus murder a whole race of infants, and consign to death the little beings to whom they have just given life? I scarcely expect to be believed by an English mother, yet true it is, that an Arreoy mother is no sooner delivered of her child than she in general murders it.

The priests have great influence over the minds of the people; they are highly respected by the people, and officiate at the morais in all religious sacrifices. Being considered as servants of their deities, they have an ample opportunity of imposing on the minds of the ignorant natives, and they understand their interest too well not to avail themselves of it. They thus persuade them that the power of life and death is in their hands, and that to offend them and to call down their execrations is mortal. The great chiefs are for the most part priests themselves. They employ this advantage with great dexterity to extend and confirm the obedience and reverence of their subjects. They make them believe that their anger is mortal, and thus nothing is so much dreaded by an Otaheitan as to offend a great chief. The minds of the people are thus kept in continual terror by these artful villains. Pomarrie understood this craft, and employed it with unexampled dexterity. He was the arrant juggler among them on the score of religion. He had the prudence not to pretend that his power extended to us. He was in this respect an arch impostor.

Their morais are a kind of refuge for criminals of every kind; they fly to them when in any imminent danger, and, according to the custom

of the country, must not be taken from thence. In a word, these people may be said to be stupefied by superstition, adhering invariably to the usages of their ancestors.

CHAP. XXXV.

MISERABLE STATE OF THE ISLAND....DISEASES....CAUSES OF THE GRADUAL DECREASE OF POPULATION....TRICK PLAYED UPON THE CAPTAIN....GENERAL PROPENSITY TO THEFT.

TO any man of humanity nothing can be more distressing than to cast his eye on this island, a spot blessed by nature with every thing that can render life pleasing ; fertility of soil, and serenity of climate ; but now become a scene of general mortality and the ravage of disease, which to all human appearance in a few years must render it a desolate wilderness untrodden by human feet.

They impute the greater part of these diseases to their European visitors, but, for the most part very absurdly, though indeed we must take our share.

There can be no doubt but that thousands of them have been swept off by the venereal disease since their intercourse with Europeans.

At the time of our leaving the islands, many of these unfortunate objects were in a state truly pitiable through this disorder, though the missionary surgeon, a gentleman of great humanity, spared no efforts to alleviate their misery. But

it was a very difficult thing to persuade them to adhere to his prescriptions. They have a violent antipathy to medicines of all kinds, and, what is equally against them, they are no sooner taken with the disease than they are deserted and left to shift for themselves. In this helpless condition their chance of recovery is small indeed.

I am persuaded that they were far more happy in their primitive state, than since their acquaintance with Europeans. Another most dangerous malady amongst them is the country fever; this is very prevalent, and from their manner of treatment, or rather neglect, very fatal. However ill they may be, it is with the greatest difficulty that they can be persuaded to forego the water. The dysentry is too common; and when once it seizes them, seldom fails to be fatal. Rheumatisms and agues are diseases to which their excessive fondness for the water renders them peculiarly liable; we have before mentioned, that their careless manner of taking their night's repose, heedless equally of cold or damps, is a fertile source of these complaints. Their only means of alleviating pain, is by gently squeezing and rubbing the part affected; this method is general amongst all the islanders.

Besides the disorders above mentioned they have many others, with which I am unacquainted, but which doubtless have their share in the destruction of the population.

But the most effectual instrument of the annihilation of these people is the horrible practice before mentioned, that of infant murder, and human sacrifices. It is computed that at least two

thirds of the whole births of the island are thus stifled. In vain does nature raise her voice against what long usage, and profligacy confirmed by habit and example, so barbarously persuades. If the future diminution of these people keep pace with that of late years, and particularly during the time of my residence, the island must soon become a desert. The missionaries made two tours whilst I was in the island, and in each of which they numbered the people; according to their first calculation they were seven thousand, but in the last they very little exceeded five.

This mortality cannot but be seriously, however uselessly, lamented. So blind are these poor wretches, that, incapable of comprehending that the true cause of this evil must be sought in their own practices, they scruple not to impute them all to their intercourse with Europeans.

Three of the royal family died during the time we were resident in Otaheite. Upon the whole, I cannot but think that the vengeance of God has already fallen upon these people. Otoo is the last of his family.

Nature, who is a kind parent to all her children, has, in Otaheite, so mingled her bitters with her sweets, that the lot of the Otaheitans is not superior to the rest of the world. If their land is fertile, and their climate serene, their physical temperament is an indolence which renders these natural gifts ineffectual. Their king and chiefs are tyrannical, and surrounded with sycophants. Is there any gift of nature which can overbalance against such oppression?

What a contrast between these people and ourselves! Whilst all their faculties are benumbed as well by their natural ignorance, as by the stuporific influence of their government, we are hedged round by happy laws, and secured against all invaders, however powerful.

These people, to speak generally, possess an amiable openness of manners which cannot fail to impress a stranger with a very favourable opinion of them. But let such strangers rest assured, that these people will not fail to impose upon them to the utmost of their power. They will moreover never suffer an opportunity of stealing to pass neglected. The chiefs being on all these occasions the receivers, the article stolen is almost always irrecoverable.

The captain with whom we embarked for Port Jackson experienced the truth of this assertion. Having brought with him some land turtles, the Otaheitan chiefs expressed a strong desire of having some left amongst them. They doubtless expected that the captain would make them a present of them, as had been done by other navigators, with regard to animals of more use. This gentleman, however, having no obligation to them, and no particular end to accomplish, had no very anxious wish to gratify them, but had no objection to the way of bartering one or two for hogs. The Otaheitans did not expect this; they therefore shifted their ground, and contrived the following stratagem. Two of Pomarrie's servants came with their master's compliments, and requested two turtles, and that the captain would send word by the bearers how many

hogs would content him in exchange. It should be mentioned that Pomarrie was at this time at Attahoura. The captain had no great opinion of this business, but was persuaded to trust to Pomarrie's word; the turtles were accordingly sent under the charge of an European who had been long resident on the island, and was therefore well acquainted with the language. He was strictly charged not to return without the hogs.

The European and the two men from Pomarrie proceeded on their journey; but they scarcely had gone two miles, when they desired the European to return, adding that his attendance was unnecessary, as they would deliver the turtles themselves. The man mentioned the hogs to be delivered in return, and insisted upon accompanying them; till they began to handle him somewhat roughly, and enforced his compliance in a manner which he thought it not prudent any longer to resist. The fellow, being something of a coxcomb, and confident in his abilities for negotiation and management of the natives, had undertaken this embassy with great promises that they should not deceive him. It was ludicrous to see the fallen air with which he returned to the ship. It appears to me that the whole of this affair was a contrivance of the chiefs without the participation of Pomarrie. I have mentioned it at full length, as being illustrative of the tricking genius of this people.

Often have they tempted our people to desert by fair promises, and, as often given them up for the promised reward.

The chiefs give them much credit if a business of this kind is done wih such dexterity as to elude detection; but if discovered, join in the reproach. Though such arrant thieves in their intercourse with us, I believe they are more honest in their dealings with each other. When upbraided with the word thief, they retort that they are not worse thieves than many of our own countrymen, alluding to the convicts at Botany Bay.

There are no greater thieves in the country than Otoo's attendants. Such are the chief men in the country, and such the priests and governors. The depravity of the common people need be no subjects of astonishment, when such is the example of their superiors. The common people either do not believe it a crime, or, if they are persuaded that it is such, flatter themselves that their priests can absolve them. They are one and all a country of thieves.

CHAP. XXXVI.

RECEPTION OF STRANGERS....EVENNESS OF TEMPER....GENEROSITY AMONGST THEMSELVES....LITTLE JEALOUSY WITH REGARD TO THEIR WOMEN.

THEIR manner of addressing strangers from the king to the meanest subject is courteous and affable in the extreme. The chiefs are exceedingly proud, and fond of parade; they seldom fail to receive a stranger with the utmost hospitality, and

to render him all the good offices in their power. Their hospitality however, as may be conceived, has not much refinement; they never fail to expatiate largely on whatever they give, doubtless with the purpose of aggravating the return. Upon further acquaintance many of their amiable qualities disappear; and amongst others, their disinterestedness.

They certainly live amongst each other in more harmony than is usual amongst Europeans. During the whole time I was amongst them, I never saw such a thing as a battle; and though they are excellent wrestlers, and in their contests give each other many a hard fall, the contest is no sooner concluded, than they are as good friends as ever. Their frequent wars must be imputed to the ambition of their chiefs; and were it not for the restless disposition of these men, I am persuaded that war would be almost unknown amongst them.

I never remember to have seen an Otaheitan out of temper. They jest upon each other with greater freedom than the Europeans; but these jests are never taken in ill part. They are acute observers of the manners, actions, and even looks, of strangers; and if they have any singular imperfections or oddities, they will not fail to make themselves merry at their expence.

Their even temperament of mind and humour must be imputed in part to the effect of their happy climate. Another cause is doubtless their total want of care or thoughtfulness; nature having provided them with every thing necessary to sustenance, and the fertility of their soil requiring

no cultivation. Hence there is nothing of that constant anxiety of providing for the first demands of nature, which gives that active motion to every individual of civil society; and which is the source, and only source, of all the destructive passions of life.

With regard to food, it is I believe an invariable law in Otaheite, that whatever is possessed by one is common to all: at least I never saw an instance to the contrary amongst all our numerous visitors. The first possessor indeed usually came off with the least share. I scarcely know how to reconcile this generosity with the selfishness of their conduct in their intercourse with strangers; except that of acting more from what may be called sentiment or natural feeling, than moral perception of right and wrong. They have one system of action amongst themselves, and another in their society with strangers.

Their manners, generally speaking, bear a great affinity to those of the other Society Islands; and none of them observe any faith with strangers. Their own interest is here their sole consideration.

Upon the arrival of the missionaries, they received them in the most cordial manner; professing the greatest reverence and regard as well to the men, as the doctrines they were about to disseminate. The missionaries, deceived by this reception hailed it as a happy omen of the success of their mission; and commenced their labours of conversion in high spirits, and boundless hopes. The chiefs encouraged them by saying, that their parrow, or talk, was very good. The

high priest however, after some attendance, suffered a remark to slip, which explained their secret opinion; that the missionaries gave them plenty of the word of God, but few axes. They doubtless thought that their constant attendance entitled them to presents. It appears to me, that in this respect, they have become very little mproved.

Their general idleness is never interrupted but on the arrival of a ship. Every thing then is bustle and activity; they are then as busy as pedlars in fair time; every one has something to exchange in traffic; the husband not unfrequently brings his wife to market. Pomarrie himself was as great a factor as any of them in the article of Otaheitan beauty. In one of my evening walks, I found him accompanying ten or twelve young women to the beech, commanding them to go on board a certain ship in the bay, and not to fail to bring him plenty of powder in the morning. They all willingly obeyed his orders, for the thing is so common that nothing is thought of it.

The arrival of a ship brings them to the scene of action from far and near. Many of them then meet at Matavai who have not seen each other for some length of time. The ceremony of these meetings is not without singularity: taking a shark's tooth, they strike it into their head and temples with great violence, so as to produce a copious bleeding; and this they will repeat, till they become clotted with blood and gore. I cannot explain the origin of this custom, nor its analogy with what it is intended to express. It has no other meaning with them than to express the ex-

cess of their joy. By what construction it is considered as symbolical of this emotion I do not understand.

The situation of the missionaries amongst them must be very unpleasant. A ship however no sooner arrives, than they are employed by them to negotiate the exchange and barter. Should every thing in this business not be to their satisfaction, a thing that almost always happens from their insatiable avarice, the missionaries must bear the reproach. They cannot have exerted their interest with their countrymen, or they could have procured them better bargains. It is in vain for the missionaries to answer that they have no power over the property of others. An Otaheitan is not very easily convinced, when he is resolved to retain his first opinion.

If the missionaries should convince them of the sincerity and earnestness of their efforts to procure them articles suited to their wishes, the blame is then cast upon the captain. He is then every thing that is bad; Ahow, ahow, or Tata perre, perre, a stingy fellow; which words they repeat with great emphasis, and ludicrous grimace.

Money being a thing of arbitrary value only, it is of little consequence of what materials it is composed, so that the end is answered. Thus a piece of paper with us answers all the purpose of the finest gold; and from being a blank the moment before, it may in a few minutes be transformed into tens of thousands. Thus the property introduced among them on the arrival of the missionaries was of much greater value to

them than a ship-load of gold would have been to this country. Since that time they have wholly laid aside their stone hatchets, and bone implements for fishing; and those articles are now seen only as objects of curiosity, not as implements of general utility. While resident there, I was informed from the very best authority, that Pomarrie had one of his men, who had picked up something of the blacksmiths craft from the missionary blacksmiths, employed in making axes, &c. upwards of twelve months. The arrival of these men amongst them will no doubt be a day long remembered as one of their good days. Their settlement was like that of a number of rich foreigners settling in an infant country, whom it was the highest policy of the natives to encourage by every possible means.

In the immediate vicinity of our house was a beautiful plantation of cocoa-nut trees, consisting of some hundreds, planted by Edeah and Pomarrie about the time of captain Bligh's visit and voyage for the bread-fruit tree. These trees have now gained such a height, that their branches, meeting at the top, form a most beautiful alcove. They are sufficiently dense to exclude the rays of the sun, and form one of the most pleasant walks in the island. It was at least the only one which afforded me any satisfaction. Travelling in the interior is very troublesome, both on account of the heat and the long grass, as well as a kind of bur, which is very abundant, and is called by the natives pe perre.

The ground sacred to Otoo, and his brother the king of Tiarabo, adjoins to this grove. Edeah,

Paitea, and Awhow the sister of Paitea and mother to the two queens, all reside in the neighbourhood. This was therefore the royal residence; and if there was any thing of civilization in the country, it would be most natural to expect it here. But there was absolutely nothing of the kind, nor any appearance of its first degree. They were as absolutely remote from civilized life, as at the period of their first discovery

CHAP. XXXVII.

STUPIDITY OF OTOO.....OTAHEITAN NUMERALS....HUMAN SACRIFICES....HORRID INSTANCE OF TREACHERY.

IT must be a very long period of time before the Otaheitans can arrive at the very first elements of civil life: a language reduced to regularity, and written characters, so as to be grammatically learnt and transmitted. There are but few of them can be taught to pronounce in any resemblance the letters of the alphabet. Otoo could indeed compass a few, but, there are many letters which neither he nor any other Otaheitan could articulate.

Such are our letters C, K, S, Q, X, and G. V they pronounce B, and C they soften into T. Thus Captain Vancouver, is Taptain Bancouba, and Captain Cook, Taptain Tootee. The royal admiral, is Rammirell.

Very good fellow, very bad fellow, were the plainest words that Otoo could articulate; hare-

mi de rum, bring hither the rum, and a very few others. He would sometimes send to the missionaries for pen, ink and paper, but used them as a child, making scrawls and scratches. On some occasions I have been sent for to witness his proficiency, but I ever found him more attentive to a book of pictures than to his reading and writing. He could indeed very imperfectly form some of the letters of the alphabet, but it *was* very imperfectly, and I am of opinion that there are very small hopes of improving the natives through his example, or that of any of his family.

When he had any message to communicate to shipping, he usually applied to Mr. Jefferson, or some other of the missionaries, to transmit it by the paper parow or note ; the purport of this was usually a demand of the Ava Brittanna.

The Otaheitan numerals are as follows :

Attachie	One
Arroua	Two
Atora	Three
Aha	Four
Arima	Five
Aveneu	Six
Ahita	Seven
Avarrou	Eight
Iva	Nine
Ahourou	Ten

Eleven begins the same as one, with the addition of de halla postfixed, and so on till they arrive at twenty, after which they add ahourou,

signifying ten, till they arrive at one hundred, which they seldom exceed.

Another method they have adopted of making a stranger, unacquainted with their language, understand their meaning, is by tying as many slips of the cocoa-leaf into a bundle, and presenting it to the stranger with whom they are bargaining, signifying by this what number of any thing they require, and what number of hogs, &c. they intend giving for a musket, powder, &c.

The human sacrifices are not put to death by their priests, as many have been led to imagine; the executioner is usually one of the miscreants about the person of the king, and generally adds treachery to the horror of his murder. He calls upon the victim under the pretext of a visit of friendship, and, seizing his opportunity when the poor fellow is off his guard, knocks him down and kills him on the spot. An instance of this treachery and murder occurred whilst I resided amongst them.

One of the confidants of Otoo, upon our return from the Sandwich Islands, a fellow who visited us daily previous to our voyage thither, was advanced to the command of a district at some distance from Matavai. This man had been often importuned for a human victim, and as often excused himself by the difficulty of finding any suitable object within his district. This passed for a time, but the king, or rather Pomarrie, at length insisted on his compliance. The wretch, now put to his shifts, and apprehensive of losing the smiles of his benefactor, found that he could defer it no longer. He therefore sent a message

requesting the immediate visit of a near relation. The unsuspicious man obeyed, and was received with the greatest friendship and cordiality by the treacherous chief, so that he departed enraptured with his reception. But he had no sooner left the house than the villain gave orders that one of his trusty agents should follow him, and, watching his opportunity, should kill him when off his guard. This was accordingly done one day when the unsuspicious man was walking down to the beach. The body was then laid out in a long basket made of cocoa-nut leaves, and conveyed past our door. The natives in our yard beheld it with the most perfect apathy and indifference, and requested me to look at it as it passed ; but I expressed my abhorrence of such an outrage to humanity, and refused to go out of my doors till it had proceeded beyond my sight.

When the sacrifices arrive at the moreas, the eye is scooped out, and presented on a bread-fruit leaf. The king holds his mouth open as if to receive it. They imagine that he thereby receives an addition to his strength and cunning.

Upon great solemnities the chiefs of every district bring one or more of these human sacrifices ; it was supposed that not less than from twelve to fifteen would be offered at the inaguration of Otoo. The bodies, after the ceremony of the sacrifice, are removed to the moreas, and there interred.

When upbraided with this most horrible practice they never want an excuse. They alledge that the victims were bad men, and men to whose crimes their lives were just forfeits. But in my opinion this is only one of those excuses which,

on every occasion that requires an excuse, these people have ready made for the purpose.

Perhaps there are few people in the world, who carry their liberality to their Gods, to greater excess than these people. They think nothing too good for these divinities. Every calamity with which an Otaheitan is afflicted is considered the immediate effect of the vengeance of their Gods. Sickness, want, ill-success in war, or the anger of their kings and chiefs, have no other origin than in some offence or neglect of their Gods. Thus we find even Pomarrie himself labouring under the same superstition, intreating us earnestly to fire some cannon, in order to appease the wrath of his Gods whom he feared to have offended.

There are a set of men in this country whose open profession is of such abomination, that the laudable delicacy of our language will not admit it to be mentioned. These are called by the natives mahoos; they assume the dress, attitude, and manners of women, and effect all the fantastic oddities and coquetries of the vainest of females. They mostly associate with the women, who court their acquaintance. With the manners of the women they adopt their peculiar employments, making cloth, bonnets, and mats; and so completely are they unsexed from their manhood, that had they not been pointed out to me, I should not have known them but as women. I add with some satisfaction, that the encouragement of this abomination is almost solely confined to the chiefs. Otoo himself is a monster of debauchery. Their pollution in this respect beg-

gars alldescription; my mind averts from dwelling upon an object which recalls so many images of disgust and horror.

Whilst amongst them I saw two of their mahoos; the one in the train of Pomarrie, the other was pointed out to me as he passed my house; observing me to fix my eyes on him with a look expressive of my abhorrence, he sneaked off without speaking. Their wickedness is enough to call down the immediate judgment of heaven; and let me not be thought too presumptuous, if I assert that the hand of God is visible amongst them. Unless their manners change, I pronounce that they will not long remain in the number of nations. The sword of disease is no less effectual than the waters of a deluge.

With regard to health, peace of mind, and vigour of body, the missionaries stand on high ground; and must appear to them under the immediate protection of heaven, whilst they fall around them like rotten sheep. Mrs. Eyre, now upwards of seventy years of age, was superintending her domestic affairs with a deal of ease, content, and happiness.

We cannot, however, take our leave of Otaheite, without expressing an opinion, that the slow progress of the missionary efforts has been principally owing to a collusion between the royal family, the chiefs, and priests. They most probably are afraid of losing their influence over the minds of the people, should the introduction of christianity be encouraged, and therefore set their faces against it stoutly. Had not this been the case, I think it is almost impossible but some converts

must have been gained, for the virtues of these men speak intelligibly to the natives. Whoever will trace that universal depravity of character to its fountain-head, will find that the chiefs are the root of the evil, for these people are in general proud of imitating the examples of their chiefs. May the dawning of civilization, the precursor of christianity, dispel the mist that pervades their minds, and shortly illumine not only them, but the whole race of Adam in every quarter of the habitable globe!

If I have been thus full, perhaps minute, in my relation of the manners and customs of the Otaheitans, I have only to alledge in excuse, that it is my wish to exhibit to the eyes of my countrymen a complete picture of this island. The first navigators, in describing the beauty of the island have been perhaps too partial in their judgment of their manners, or resided so short a time amongst them, that many of these peculiarities escaped their observation. Perhaps some of them did not exist at the time as they have doubtless become much worse since their intercourse with Europeans.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

PASSAGE TO PORT JACKSON....TOUCH AT THE FRIENDLY ISLANDS.... INTERCOURSE WITH THE NATIVES....ARRIVAL AT NORFOLK ISLAND.

ON our way to Port Jackson, we made the island of Eoa, or Middleburgh, the eastermost of the Friendly Islands; and lay off and on the greater part of the day, trading with the natives for cocoa-nuts and curiosities. These people in their manners and appearance have a great resemblance with the Sandwich Islanders. Their canoes, if we except the Sandwich Islands, were the neatest I had seen in those seas. The people appeared to me to be persuaded that their curiosities were inestimable, for they observed no moderation in their demands. They traded as if they had been accustomed to extortion all their lives. They wanted axes and scissars in exchange for their worthless trumpery; but finding that they could not impose on us, and that we would not give more than the worth, they agreed to our terms, rather than return as they came.

They brought off three women, doubtless with the intention of putting their favours up to sale; but here they were disappointed, as they could find no purchasers amongst the ship's company.

These women were very far from being handsome: they were stout, masculine, and hard featured; and to all appearance past the meridian of life. They were much browner and of a coarser make and complexion than the Otaheitans. These latter indeed are the most comely and soft-featured of any of the islanders in these seas. The natives, however, doubtless thought their beauty a very saleable commodity, and were apparently much disconcerted that they had to carry them back after having taken so much trouble to bring them so far.

We purchased some clubs, paddles, and spears; but paid at least three times the price that they would have cost us at any of the other islands. We solicited them much to return to the shore, and bring us off some hogs, yams, &c. as they said they had these articles in great plenty; but upon the return of the canoe which was sent for these articles, they pleaded so many excuses, that it appeared evident that they had deceived us, and had them not in the abundance they pretended. They recommended us strongly to go to Tongataboo, which we could already see, and which had a most beautiful appearance from this distance, being apparently as level and green as a bowling-green. They told us that there was great plenty of every thing we wanted, and that it might be procured cheap; we understood them at least so, as far as their jargon was intelligible; but they had told us the same of their own island, and therefore we listened to them without attention.

Fortunately for us, we had left Otaheite well provided, otherwise we should here have had cause to repent our improvidence upon reaching the Friendly Islands. It appeared to me that a great and unusual scarcity must have at that time prevailed at Eoa, otherwise they could not have withstood the temptation of our articles. We did not procure on this island above two dozen of the heads of the oura, or bread-fruit; a circumstance that leads me to suspect that it cannot be in great plenty in Eoa, as at Otaheite we never found any difficulty in procuring as much as we wanted. Perhaps it was at this time out of season. This bread-fruit, about four dozen of cocoa-nuts, one or two bunches of bananas, and a few sticks of the sugar-cane, was the whole that we got at these islands.

The whole country as far as we could observe, was divided into neat inclosures and seemingly all in cultivation. This culture is in my opinion far more necessary here than in the Society Islands, as there appeared evidently a scarcity of the oura, or bread-fruit. We observed from the ship several houses; but being at such a distance, we cannot venture to describe them minutely. As viewed through the glass, they appeared as if built in an oblong manner, somewhat resembling a long shed, apparently open at the sides. The war that has existed for some years on these islands, has been fatal to the population; according to the report, these people give no quarter. Their ferocity is indeed visible in the very mould of their features.

Their language was nearly unintelligible to a Sandwich Islander, and to two Otaheitans on board, so that our traffic was conducted chiefly by signs. Their clubs were more ingeniously carved than any we had yet seen: even superior to the Sandwich Islanders. The wood was black, hard, and heavy; somewhat resembling the lignum-vitæ. The carving must have required an unusual degree of labour; and if the value should be rated according to the time of the workmanship, we had them very cheap. I cannot say with what tools the carving could have been so neatly executed; if done with a shell, the time and labour must have been immense. But there is not amongst savages a more admirable talent than that of perseverance. Compared with an European, they will do very little at one time; but to a favourite object they will return a thousand times, nor ever desist till they have accomplished their end.

The cloth of the Friendly Islands much resembles that of the Sandwich Islands both in colour and quality. It is much inferior to that of the Otaheitans. Indeed, of the cloth of these seas, the best is of the Otaheitan manufacture.

The day now drawing to a close, those on board were ordered to return into their canoes. They flung themselves into the water apparently in great terror, and paddled in haste to the shore.

From the short visit we paid this people, it is impossible to say any thing with regard to their habits or manners; their language was moreover nearly unintelligible to the Southern Islanders. The uncommon ferocity of their looks cannot

but cause an involuntary start in all who may happen to see them for the first time. This perhaps appeared more striking to us, as we had but then left the Otaheitans, whose looks invite to confidence.

They pressed us much to go on shore; but as our necessities did not require it, and their features did not second their invitation, we thought proper to decline it. The apparent welcome of these people is never to be trusted: dissimulation is one of their instruments of treachery; but caution is perhaps needless, as their features, of themselves, are a sufficient index of their minds.

This island, generally speaking, is of an easy ascent; from the shore it ascends gradually and gently to the highest ground, which does not however exceed a moderate height. It may be seen ten leagues at sea. The method of tattooing usual in all these seas, was likewise here practised.

Two of the men who were here trading, affected to pass amongst us as chiefs, but as they exercised no authority over the others who were trading by the side of the vessel, we did not give much credit to their pretensions.

I had no doubt indeed that the whole was a trick, in order to prolong our stay. They will find themselves grossly mistaken, who, visiting these seas from commercial or other motives, act with these savages as if their characteristic was an honest simplicity. They are altogether the contrary; and as expert in swindling, as if they had lived in a civilized country. I assert again, that

throughout all the Islands of the Pacific Ocean, the same general characteristic prevails; an absolute indifference to all right or wrong in their intercourse with strangers.

In conversation with the gentleman * with whom I went passenger to Norfolk Island, upon the subject of the inhabitants of these islands, he chanced to mention the shipwreck of the Argo from China, with a cargo to Norfolk Island and Port Jackson. As I was acquainted both with the captain and the vessel, I felt some interest to learn something more of this disaster, and how and where he had met with them. I had before suspected that some accident had happened, as she ought to have arrived at least a twelvemonth before. He informed me that the only surviving man of the whole crew was then on board the same ship with ourselves; and that he had at first taken him on board very unwillingly, suspecting that he was an impostor or fugitive seaman. But the poor fellow at length convinced him of the truth of his story; the particulars of which were as follows. They had sailed with a cargo from China, had met with adverse buffeting winds, which had thrown them very far from their course. I think it is no improbable conjecture to suppose, that as the captain had so long been at sea, it was his intention to touch at some of these islands. The ignorance of the sailor is no objection to this supposition, as commanders do not always inform their men of their intention. The sailor pro-

* This gentleman is now in London.

ceeding in his narrative, added, that the ship one night struck upon a reef of rocks to the north-west of these islands, and shortly became a total wreck.

After the accident the natives plundered and destroyed every thing they could seize, and their plunder continued as long as any spoil remained for its object. The captain and crew landed at Tongataboo ; one of those wars was at this time raging in the island, which, from the ferocity with which it was conducted, must sooner or later exterminate the people. If this man's story is to be credited, the captain and the greater part of the crew fell the victims of this contest. His however did not happen immediately on their landing; the captain continued some time amongst them, and previously to his death was wandering over the island naked and desolate as a native. His late loss and present situation had almost deprived him of his senses, and rendered him, according to the poor fellow's description, a truly pitiable object. He said that the death of the captain, and the greater part of the crew, was caused by their being discovered in an attempt to escape from the island, but that some of them had been surprised and overpowered by the adverse party. The fellow himself had effected his escape in a canoe from which he had been taken by the captain of our vessel.*

* I repeat that happiness and independence no where exist. In all of the islands we visited in those seas, there

It is said that some of the missionaries, in their efforts to improve the condition of this people, had lost their lives. The remainder were providentially preserved by the arrival of a Spanish prize, on board of which was one of their brethren of the name of Harris, who, in despair of effecting any useful purpose, had left the Marquesas. He had joined this prize as a kind of navigating pilot at Otaheite, on her way to Port Jackson, and in consequence of his interest had procured the admission of the other missionaries on board, and thus, in all probability, saved their lives. This information Mr. Harris communicated to me at Norfolk Island.

These islanders were suspected of a design of cutting off the Duff whilst in the act of settling the missionaries.

The Otaheitans to a man are passionately attached to their own country, and believe it not to be exceeded by any country in the world. If they have not iron, they say, they have cocoa-nuts, and if their cloths and tools are exceeded by the European articles of the same kind, what can exceed their bread-fruit? They are fully persuaded that we have no other purpose in visiting their island, but that we are half-starved at home, and that we come there to fatten, or, as they say, to get handsome; in a word, Otaheite is the finest island in the world, and Pomarrie

was not one of any magnitude in which there was not a greater or less number of petty chiefs, or in other words tyrants, whose ambition is productive of an eternal warfare. So much for the conformity of liberty with the state of nature; so much for their co-existence.

the greatest man. Long may this happy prejudice continue! where happiness is the fruit, of what import is it whether the root is error?

With these opinions it will be no subject of surprise, that they are but little inclined to leave their island. They are not, however, without some curiosity as to the habits and customs of other islands; and they listen with eagerness to the marvellous reports of such of their countrymen, as have visited the Sandwich or other islands in those seas. We have before mentioned that they do not take equal interest in any of our accounts of the wonders of our country; considering Great Britain as a kind of another world, and one with which they have no concern or connection of interest, they give little or no attention to what we say upon the subject.

Some of their boys, however, must be excepted from this remark; during their residence amongst us as servants, they had heard such wonders of England, and in consequence had formed so attracting an idea of it, that on our reembarkation we found no less than three of them on board. They made strong interest with the captain to give them a passage to Britain

Upon touching at Norfolk Island in our way to Port Jackson, these boys were very eager for permission to go on shore; they all entreated that they might be allowed to see the Englishmen's fenowa or land. This permission was granted to one of the most intelligent of them, in the expectation of deriving some amusement from his curious remarks. This expectation was not disappointed; nothing in fact escaped

his observation; the military guard being under arms at the time of his landing, he was transported with a kind of extacy of astonishment and admiration. Twice or thrice he exclaimed in his country language, Arahie my tye the tata poo pooey; Noble man, the man of the musket. He doubtless supposed from the appearance of the soldiers that they were superior to the rest of mankind.

Every one flocking around him, invited by his Otaheitan dress, he was invited into almost every house, every one offering him victuals, and pressing him to eat. This evidently gave him a better opinion of the Englishman's country in point of provisions, than either he or his countrymen had ever before entertained.

Another subject of his lively astonishment was the great number of children; he said there was six times the number which the women had in Otaheite. He now began to exclaim that truly the Englishman's was a fine country, but thought it a pity that there were no bread-trees or cocoa-nuts; he could not conceive how it was possible to live without this to him necessary of life.

Here he found one of his countrymen of the name of Oreo, who had lately arrived from England in the ship Albion, smartly dressed in the style of an English sailor. This man eagerly entered into conversation with him respecting the state of affairs in Otaheite, inquiring about the progress of the war, and its probable event.

It was easy to see that from the knowledge which this man had acquired from travelling, he conceived himself far superior to any of his coun-

trymen. He shewed him the riches he had acquired by such an adventurous enterprise; this wealth consisted of a musket, two pistols, a few axes and scissars, with some European clothing. The sight of this immense wealth had an evident effect upon the young Otaheitan: he now treated his countryman with more distant respect, apparently acknowledging him as now a far superior man to himself. He appeared moreover pleased that he himself was in so fair a way of becoming soon equally rich. The traveller told him many strange and marvellous stories of the beauty and riches of Britain, and the Otaheitan listened with equal rapture and credulity. The Otaheitan and Sandwich Island travellers generally enlarge in some degree in their reports of what they have seen.

Before he left the shore, his mirth was much excited by the sight of some old women smoaking. He mimicked them with great humour; his grimaces were truly ludicrous and expressive.

It is with pleasure I here mention that we here found that solitary individual of whom we have formerly spoken; whose folly and timidity had inflicted on him a punishment, of which we have few instances. He was now comfortably settled as a domestic servant with the beach-master, perfectly happy in himself, and giving the most perfect satisfaction to his employer.

Here I must intreat the reader's pardon for one moment, whilst I rectify a mistake in the printing of the first part of the work. Instead of saying he was wholly unintelligible, the words ought to

have been, in some instances unintelligible. We found the governor still persevering in his plans of improvement. Several public buildings had been added to those we left at the time of sailing; and the water, which lay at a considerable distance from the camp, was now conveyed into the middle of the town by means of wooden pipes. This was a circumstance of the utmost public utility in enabling the cultivator and other branches of the community to follow their several avocations without interruption.

Having spent the day very comfortably amongst my old acquaintances, who received me with the most cordial welcome, I embarked in the evening, and stood on our course to Port Jackson.

The Islanders had been blessed with an abundant harvest. Both the military and convicts were on full allowance. Added to this, the governor through his industry, and the encouragement given the settlers in rearing stock, had at this time salted down upwards of twenty tons of pork: and was only waiting an opportunity of sending it on to Port Jackson.

CHAP. XXXIX.

ADMIRATION OF THE OTAHEITAN BOYS ON THEIR ARRIVAL AT PORT JACKSON

ON making the land about Port Jackson, the Otaheitans were again in raptures, probably thinking this was England; but seeing the barrenness of the country as they entered the harbour, and the scragginess of the trees, their spirits evidently sunk. Here again they looked at the trees for food, and seeing none, exclaimed in their country language, Very bad land, very bad country.

On coming to an anchor in Sydney Cove, there was a coach and four horses standing almost opposite the ship. This astonished them beyond measure Every one inquired of the other their opinion of this wonderful phænomenon. They concluded that it must be a travelling house; but they could find no names for the horses, having in their country no larger animals than hogs. Some of these indeed were uncommonly large. The Otaheitans therefore called them by the name of mighty hogs. A short time after this, the coach setting off at a good round trot, they exclaimed in an extacy to each other, Oh! how they fly. It was impossible to recall their attention to any part of the ship's duty at this

time. On the following morning, seeing the New South Wales corps under arms, they were in the most extravagant raptures imaginable; but when the band began to play, they began to leap about, their very eyes dancing in their head with the vivacity of their sympathy. So enchanted were they with this sight, that had the governor made his appearance, I am persuaded they would have regarded him only as a secondary character.

Shortly afterwards, some of the natives of Port Jackson paddled alongside in a canoe with some fish. The Otaheitans were happy to see this, as it was a sign that the manner of living was in some respects according to the custom of their own country. They asked for some of the fish; never dreaming of a refusal, as it was the invariable custom at Otaheite to share every article of food amongst each other. They were mute with astonishment, when they learned by a refusal that every country did not in this respect resemble Otaheite. After some pause, however, the natives gave them a few of the fish; they gladly accepted them, and made a repast of them after their own manner.

There are few Islands of the magnitude of Otaheite so utterly destitute of quadrupeds. With the exception of hogs, they have few or none. Their hogs are indeed of an extraordinary magnitude: some of them exceed five hundred weight. Whenever any thing therefore exceeds the common standard, they compare it to one of their large hogs.

However there has been lately introduced into their country a phænomenon from Owyhee, which impresses them with admiration and astonishment, and not unfrequently with terror and dismay. This is neither more nor less than a calf of the Spanish breed, about eight months old when landed, brought thither by the Nautilus. It was intended to be conveyed to Port Jackson; but from the hardships and fatigues it underwent on shipboard, was landed at Otaheite, half dead, and literally speaking, mere skin and bone.

In this situation one of the missionaries purchased it of the captain; who sold it the more willingly, as he despaired of ever carrying it alive to Port Jackson.

This animal, from the instant it was landed, having the plains to range about at large, recruited its flesh astonishingly, and is now grown to a full size: being as fat, sleek, and wanton, as possible. From its former simple and inoffensive state, it is now become an object of dread and apprehension to the natives. When she begins frisking and capering from mere wantonness, the natives think that there is mischief breeding; or as they call it, she is beginning to be angry. She has taught them to dread her indignation much; as they know in these fits there is no respect of persons. They often occasion her wildness by their gestures and hallooing, causing her sometimes to exert herself in earnest, by starting like a deer, snorting and tossing her head, throwing up her heels, and clearing away every thing before her. On these occasions the whole place is left to her solely; the natives flying from her in all

directions, taking shelter behind the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and jumping into old canoes or houses. It is very singular, that although she is apt to play these tricks with the natives, this animal is docile and harmless with the Europeans, suffering herself to be handled and patted with the utmost gentleness.

One morning she came and laid her head over the railing of our yard, as if expecting something of this kind. Seeing this, I went towards her and rubbed her forehead, which she suffered without offering to stir. This seemed rather surprising to the natives, many of whom were looking on, being perfectly secure by our fence.

At this time some flies disturbing her, she began to whisk her tail and move her head; which they observing, earnestly advised me to desist in time, as she was angry, or beginning to be so.

Previous to this, I had often been asked by the natives whether I had ever seen this tremendous animal; but from their imperfect manner of describing it, was always at a loss to know what they meant. Their answer to my inquiries was, that it was Booa a tora no popohee, an amazing large hog from Owyhee: as we had just come from thence, they no doubt wished to know if there were plenty, and if we had seen any; and on my still declaring my ignorance of their meaning, seemed very much surprised at my dullness of comprehension, after the great pains they had taken to explain the business. They no doubt alluded to those formerly left there by captain Cook, which they had been in-

formed came from our country, and of which they have now but a very faint recollection, most of the then existing race of men being by this time extinct. As the last and most convincing way, however, they placed two sticks in front of their heads in imitation of the animal's horns, setting up a noise at the same time, saying, Witte de ye? Now do you understand? On my arrival at Port Jackson, I had the satisfaction of hearing that a bull had been sent to Otaheite, which will certainly be a most valuable acquisition to the mission. This stranger most assuredly will have plenty of room assigned him on his arrival.

CHAP. XL.

SECOND RESIDENCE AT PORT JACKSON.....IMPROVEMENTS IN THAT COLONY DURING OUR ABSENCE....ARRIVAL OF SHIPS FROM EUROPE.

ON our arrival here a second time, after an absence of two years, we found that we were not the only shipwrecked mariners in this part of the world, but that others had also shared this melancholy fate. Immediately on anchoring, we received the unpleasant intelligence of the shipwreck of his majesty's ship Porpoise, and the extra ship Cato. This unfortunate accident happened on an unknown reef, about eight hundred miles to the northward, and had caused a gene-

ral gloom throughout the colony. Another ship in company very narrowly escaped the same fate. Captain Flinders of the Porpoise had reached Port Jackson in an open boat with this information; in consequence of which, an extra ship on her way to China had been ordered to touch there by government, for the purpose of removing the unfortunate sufferers. Captain Flinders, however, had resolved on prosecuting his voyage homewards in a small colonial vessel built in the country, of about thirty tons burthen. This could not but prove a very difficult undertaking. No ships from the mother country, or any other nation, were at this time in the port; there was consequently no news, as the dullness or animation of this place must depend entirely on the arrival of shipping. We had the satisfaction, however, of finding that the scarcity which had so long prevailed in this colony, had now given way to the plentiful supplies procured by the evacuation of the Cape of Good Hope, and the recent arrival of some transports. And here let me observe that it would perhaps be prudent in the government, availing themselves of a plentiful year, to store in the public granaries a twelve month's stock, and thus preclude all danger of famine from the not unfrequent failure of the crops, and other casualties.

As the vessel in which we had come passengers from Otaheite was in a manner only beginning her voyage, it was necessary that we should a second time become residents in this colony. Our first inquiry therefore was after lodgings, as it was probable that our stay would not be of short

duration. We could not indeed expect to get off till the arrival of the Calcutta, which was now daily expected; but we knew too much of maritime affairs to trust to any thing yet in the hands of chance. After a lapse of a few days, we suited ourselves as well as people in our circumstances could expect.

One of the first objects of improvement that presented itself was a stone bridge at this time building across the river. This was a grand check upon many of the female prisoners; for here those of the most depraved morals were consigned to carry large baskets of earth for the purpose of filling up the bridge, a task which kept them in great awe. Observing them in this degraded situation, I could not help reflecting on the depravity of human nature, and the enormity of their crimes, which had thus subjected them to such exemplary punishment. What effect must this have on the minds of the natives? Never was the task of a negro in the West Indies more irksome to them, than was this job to this part of the community. This mark of public infamy was not a slight temporary punishment, continuing only for a few months. This being completed, their labour would not yet end; they would be shifted to another part of the country, there to commence something of the same nature. They have sundry other modes of punishing this incorrigible part of the community; such as shaving their heads, and placing an iron collar round their necks, and drumming them round the camp. May this serve as a warning to the more dissolute to avoid such infamy! If these are severe exam-

ples, it is not more than they deserve; for many of the irregularities and depredations committed in the colony are occasioned by this description of characters.

During our absence from the colony, a new settlement had been formed on Van Dieman's land in the southern extremity of New Holland.

The vessel in which we came from Otaheite was employed by government to carry thither stores and provisions for the new settlers, together with a certain number of breeding stock, and a small military party under the command of a lieutenant.

On the second day after this vessel's departure, the colours were hoisted at the south head, the entrance of the harbour, as a signal for a vessel in sight. This proved to be a small schooner built from a part of the wreck of the Porpoise, commanded by an officer formerly of the Investigator. From him we had the agreeable intelligence of the safe arrival of the Cumberland, captain Flinders, and the Rolla, the ship destined to remove the crew and stores of the Porpoise. Captain Flinders having made the necessary arrangements, and having selected what men he deemed necessary for navigating his little vessel, proceeded on his voyage for England; whilst the Rolla on the same day left the reef, bending her course towards China.

During my residence in the colony in 1801, the Hawkesbury, which may be termed the granary of New South Wales, was inundated. This circumstance reduced the colony to great distress, and proved the ruin of many of the set-

tlers, whose whole dependance was on their grain. Hence once cause of the many litigations that then existed. Many of them at this time suffered severely by a blight passing over the country. Through such casualties as these the colony is often put to great straits, and these inconveniences are much increased from their remoteness to the mother country and every other settlement.

After a short interval the colours were again hoisted as a signal for another ship in sight. The colonists on these occasions are always in high spirits, the arrival of every ship being a matter of public and general consequence. They were at this time more than ordinarily exhilarated, in the expectation that it was a vessel from England. They had been long without hearing any intelligence from the parent country, and Botany Bay is not so remote as to take no interest in the public affairs of Great Britain and Europe.

I had before observed that it was by an American ship, touching at Norfolk Island for refreshment, that the colonies had learnt the first accounts of the preliminaries of peace. We now learned by a ship of the same nation, that hostilities had again commenced. A brig belonging to the Mauritius escaped only in time: there were several colonists as passengers on board, who of course on their arrival would be made prisoners.

In our present situation, and from the great sameness of objects in an infant country, the time hung very heavy on our hands; every day we were anxiously looking out for the arrival of the Calcutta.

It has been mentioned in the former part of our narrative, that a high spirit of party existed between the governor and the military. During my absence from the settlement, and the interval of my residence at Otaheite, this party spirit had been carried to a very great extent: carricatures and anonymous writings, reflecting on the conduct and person of the governor, had been dropt in several parts of the town and country. No inquiries, however assiduous, could detect the authors of these indecorous libels, and though there were evidently many concerned, the secret was faithfully kept.

At length the Ocean transport arrived very unexpectedly, bringing the intelligence of her having been chartered by the government at home, to carry stores and provisions for a new settlement, intended to be formed at Port Philip, in Bass' s Straits. The government here seemed to be entirely ignorant of this circumstance; it was doubtless suggested by some gentleman at home. Having completed her charter with government, the Ocean was proceeding on her way to China, but accidentally fell in with an open boat in distress, dispatched by the gentleman appointed governor of the new settlement. This boat had dispatches giving an account of the unfitness of Port Philip for the intended settlement. Humanity induced the captain of the transport to grant the crew an asylum in his ship, and solely on that account had he visited this port. By the same channel we had the happiness to learn that the long expected Calcutta, instead of bringing prisoners to Port Jackson, as was expected, had land-

ed them at Port Philip, and was there waiting till something final should be determined upon.

After having landed all the provisions, stores, &c. and an accurate examination of the adjacent country taken, which occupied much time, the situation was found wholly inelligible.

This ship was now chartered again by the governor of Port Jackson, to remove the stores and prisoners to the new settlement on Van Dieman's Land. Some small colonial vessels assisted in this purpose. Shortly afterwards to our inexpressible satisfaction, arrived the long-expected Calcutta, for the purpose of discharging her cargo for this settlement, and taking on board a lading of country wood for naval purposes. The arrival of the Calcutta, and that of two other ships from India nearly at the same time, exhilarated the spirits of the colonists much, for till this time they had been remarkably dull for several months. The colonists had added greatly to the number of their small craft, since my departure from the colony.

At this time government, had on the stocks, and nearly finished, a cutter of about 60 tons; there was moreover another of less dimensions belonging to an individual, in nearly the same state of forwardness. Government was at this time establishing settlements in various parts of the country. A party under the command of lieutenant Menzies of the royal marines was about to settle at Hunter's river, a station at a small distance to the eastward of Port Jackson. Coals of a very good quality had here been found in strata

of different depths: these coals resemble what in England is called cannel coal. The vicinity of its situation to the sea renders it very convenient for carriage to different parts of the colony; and a few tons of it sent to the Cape of Good Hope, sold there at 30 rix dollars per ton.

No metals have as yet been discovered but iron, which is contained in more or less quantities in the stone. The high price of labour will not admit at present any advantage to be derived from that metal. A fragment of the iron-stone indiscriminately picked up at Sydney, when smelted, yielded 20 per cent. but it is supposed in many places it would yield considerably more.

Salt has been found in a fossil state, but in very small quantities, and scarce deserves notice. The country abounds in plants, many of which are entirely unknown to the botanist; but the colonists have not as yet found any species of vegetables which they could apply to culinary purposes. Nor have the colonists found that the natives were acquainted with any thing of this kind, excepting the fern root.

The most common indigenous animals of this country are, the dog, which is here of a wolf-nature, and much eaten by the natives. The kangaroo is likewise considered by them as a great delicacy, and in times of scarcity was much sought after by the European inhabitants. They employed it as a substitute for beef: it does not eat unlike it, and usually weighs from 25 to 140 lb.

Amongst the four footed animals might be reckoned the flying squirrel, and the guana, all

of which serve as food for the natives. The birds are the parrot, cockatoo, pigeon, and quail; and in the mountains may be found eagles, and a bird of the species of the bird of Paradise. These birds however are rare, and seldom fall into the hands of the natives, unless when taken by surprise, as their arrows are ill suited for the destruction of the feathered tribe.

Amongst the reptiles are the different species of the snake: some of them are highly poisonous. The lakes abound in swans of a black colour, wild duck, teal, and pelican. The coast and rivers are very abundant in fish; from whence the natives derive their principal support, and the European settlers much benefit. They are chiefly of the kind peculiar to tropical climates, such as the mullet, &c. but some are peculiar to this country. To some of the latter, from some fancied resemblance, the colonists have given ludicrous names: such as the light horseman, from the head of that fish having some resemblance to a horseman's cap; and to another the name of the leather jacket, from the skin of that fish bearing the appearance of leather.

Bass's Straits, since their discovery, give employment to a number of hands, who are employed by different individuals at Port Jackson, and carried thither in small colonial vessels. They are stationed in different places, in gangs of ten or twelve, more or less, to collect the oil of the sea-elephant, and seal skins, with which the straits abounded on the first discovery.

These men are under articles with their employers, and in general go on shares, which is a

strong preventative against their idling away their time to the loss of their employer.

Their employers again are under a bond with government, to abide by the regulations pointed out for the sake of order, and preventing them from making inroads upon each other.

As the elephants and seals grow scarce in one part, they are removed to a fresh sealing ground by the small craft, which attend them for this purpose, and that of bringing the proceeds to Port Jackson. The Americans, getting scent of this, soon obtruded themselves; and from this circumstance, and from the encreasing number of adventurers on the same speculation, this business is latterly on the decline.

The colonists consider this intrusion of the Americans as a very great grievance.

The elephant oil, next to the spermaceti, is said to be the most valuable of any. A mercantile gentleman resident in the colony (deserving of every encouragement for the accommodation he in general affords the settlers)* was collecting a cargo of it for this market. When we left the colony he had collected as much as one hundred and eighty tons. The seal-skins in general are disposed of to American and other ships going to China. Some few are tanned and worked up for various purposes in the country.

* Mr. Campbell.

CHAP. XLI.

PRESENT STATE OF THE COUNTRY.....GRANTS TO INDIVIDUALS.....PRICES OF LABOUR.

WE shall here introduce some other observations respecting this colony. The country having been originally covered with wood, the stumps of the trees still remaining prevent agriculture from being carried on by the help of cattle. It is by manual labour only, and chiefly by the hoe that the ground is cultivated, which enhances much the value of the produce. The country therefore is found cultivated only in patches, where some peculiar advantageous circumstance, as good land, a navigable creek or river, &c. has induced a family to settle. They hold their lands as a perpetual grant under the hand of the governor and seal of the colony; and the only clause is a quit rent of two shillings and sixpence per annum for every hundred acres, and a reservation of such timber for the crown as may be allowed fit for naval purposes. The quantity of land hitherto granted by the crown to settlers is twenty-five acres to a convict whose time is expired, and who has been allowed to settle; thirty to a private soldier; fifty to a non-com-

missioned officer ; one hundred to a commissioned ditto ; and one hundred and eighty to a free man from England. But of late the regulation in some instances has been broke through, and government has been more liberal in their grants. The appearance of the farms bespeaks the industry of the owner, and every farmer keeps as many men as the produce of his land will admit of. The seed time for wheat is from the beginning of April to the middle of May, and it is reaped in December. Indian corn is planted in the months of October and November, and pulled in April and May. The produce, of course, is different according to the various natures of the land, from 12 to 40 bushels per acre. At Hawkesbury the land when first cultivated is said to have produced 60 bushels per acre, but on calculation I did not make the average of the colony in ordinary years more than 15 bushels per acre. The quantity of seed wheat required is from one and a half to two and a half bushels per acre, and that of Indian corn two quarts per acre. Potatoes may be planted and dug throughout the whole year. The grape answers well, but is little cultivated in the country.

Great complaints being made by the settlers that the price of grain and stock was no ways equal to the high demand of wages for people employed ; to prevent impositions of this nature, previous to our quitting the colony, orders were issued regulating the different prices of labour, and what was deemed a week's work. The gangs in the different departments were to be at

work by half-past five in the morning, to breakfast at eight, and return to labour by nine; from that time to labour till half-past three: for the remainder of the day they were at liberty, every man to follow his own avocation, so far as relates to government. Settlers and others wishing to be accommodated with convicts as yearly servants, have to enter into a bond with government, obliging themselves to maintain and clothe them; and to allow them a ration of provisions and clothes equal to that issued from his majesty's stores. In order that the party taking such prisoner into his service might be apprised of what labour he is to exact from the prisoner thus taken, as also the rates of payment established for the labour of freemen, the following are the regulations on that head:

	per acre.			wk's work.	
	L.	S.	D	A.	R.
Felling forest timber, - -	0	10	0	1	
Burning of do. - - -	1	5	0	0	65
Breaking up new ground -	1	4	0	0	65
Do. stubble or corn ground,	0	13	4	0	130
Chipping in wheat, - - -	0	6	8	1½	0
Reaping do. - - - - - -	0	8	0	1	30
Threshing do. per bushel, -	0	0	7	18 bushels	
Planting Indian corn, per acre, - - - - - - -	0	6	8	1½	0
Hilling do. per do. - -	0	6	8	1½	0
Pulling and husking do. per bushel, - - - - - -	0	0	6	25 bushels	
Yearly wages with board,	10	0	0		
Wages per week with provisions, - - - - - - - -	0	6	0		
Day's wages with board, -	0	1	0		
Do. without do. - - - -	0	2	6		

The day's work throughout the year, is fixed at ten hours, and six on Saturday. If a master employs any prisoner in his own time, his payment is not to be more than at the rate of one shilling per diem. Clothing for the convicts is issued twice annually, viz. in December and June. In December, each man is furnished with one frock, one shirt, one pair trowsers, one pair breeches, one pair shoes: in June, with two jackets, two shirts, one pair breeches or trowsers, one hat, and two pair shoes. Masters not having an opportunity of clothing such prisoners, on application, are supplied with the above articles at the government price. By his agreement with government, the employer is to find sufficient lodging for such servant on his farm or habitation; nor is the prisoner to absent himself on any account, without leave from his employer.

If his master, or his overseer, has just cause of complaint against such servant, they are to report it to the sitting magistrate, and on conviction the delinquent receives a punishment proportionate to the offence. But though this may appear an easy rate of labour, freemen wanting employment will always find employers at double, nay treble this rate; for notwithstanding the above restrictions, they by one means or another contrive to evade them. Indeed in a country where so many prisoners are wanting to carry on the public work, it is but few that can be spared to individuals.

During my residence in the colony at this time, the governor with a party made an excursion to

the cow pastures. This, as the public have long since been informed, is a part of the country into which a few cattle belonging to government had strayed shortly after the settlement of the colony, and remained there for several years without the least traces whereby they might be discovered, enjoying a rich and luxuriant herbage. At length chance threw some one that way, when it was found that they had encreased very considerably. Government, finding that they were multiplying in this manner, gave positive orders that no person whatever should molest them; so that by this time they had now multiplied to many hundreds. Whether they were led to this spot by instinct or accident, I will not take upon me to determine; but from report, this part of the country is excellently calculated for tillage, and has also the advantage of being well supplied with water. It is also said to abound in animals indigenous to the country, such as the kangaroo, cassawarree, &c. The extremes of the thermometer in the month of December, answering to our May, from 64 as high as 110 degrees.

CHAP. XLII.

LATEST STATE OF THE COLONY.

ONE of the most laudable institutions in the colony, is a public seminary for the reception of orphan children, or those of the more desperate and depraved of the convicts. We have before mentioned, that a considerable part of the expence of this institution is defrayed by a tax upon wine and spirits, and subscriptions of the gentlemen and other respectable inhabitants of the colony. This institution is under the direction of the clergyman and several respectable inhabitants, who act as trustees and managers of its funds; and it must be observed, that their method of conducting it is such as reflects the highest credit on themselves. The girls are taught needle-worlk, reading, and writing; and throughout the whole are as strictly attended to as many of the like institutions in this country; they are sixty in number; there are besides this, two others for the boys, who receive also some assistance from government. The governor, for the countenance and encouragement to the above institutions, is entitled to the highest credit. It would be unpardonable here to omit the mention

of the encouragement and patronage which this institution of benevolence receives from the ladies of the colony. It must be said indeed, to the credit of their sex, that they always stand foremost in every work of charity; and that such institutions have only to be commenced, to receive their zealous support.

One great difficulty in the government of this settlement is, to prevent the escape of the convicts. Scarcely a ship leaves the port without some attempt of this nature. The failure of one attempt is only the commencement of another.

Some time after the formation of the colony, a party of prisoners having effected their escape in an open boat, and reached Timor, the example produced such an effect, that every one began to indulge the same hopes. The most ignorant amongst them flattered themselves that they had only to commit themselves to the winds and waves; and that they could not fail to fall in with the continent. In these attempts, after incredible hardships, and the death of the greater part of them, the remainder have usually surrendered themselves, and again thrown themselves on the mercy of the governor.

Their ignorance is indeed incredible: many of them are persuaded that if they follow their path through the woods, they may reach China on foot. However, they have been so often undeceived, and suffered so much in these rash attempts, that they have at length acquired more discretion.

Many of the restless and seditious who have been sent to this settlement, have not derived any

increase of wisdom or prudence from their punishment; they are still as restless as ever, and the peace of the colony is thus often interrupted.

The catholic priests, and a tribe of miscreants who live by fortune-telling, spare no efforts to foster this spark of rebellion. Before I left the island, upwards of two hundred of these desperadoes had actually raised an insurrection in the colony; and proceeded to such an excess of outrage as to seize the arms and ammunition of the settlers. They were further proceeding to the attack of the government store at Hawkesbury, when a party of the New South Wales corps, under the command of major Johnson, an old and experienced officer, after some parleying, reduced them to obedience. Several of the ringleaders, as may naturally be supposed, were made public examples, but I fear the minds of their comrades were too much hardened to derive much advantage from this salutary admonition.

To assist the military, and strengthen the hands of government in cases of emergency, the governor was embodying a company of volunteers 80 strong. These men receive no pay, but draw a ration of provisions at the expence of government. They find all their accoutrements except their arms, which are supplied them by government also. The town of Parramatta furnishes 50 on the same footing, ; those of Sydney were training under the direction of a gentleman, formerly captain and adjutant in the New South Wales corps.

The usual method of payment in this colony is by the barter of one commodity for another. Spirits, tea, sugar, and tobacco, are in greatest demand; and next to these the manufactures and productions of the mother country. These articles are received in exchange to the greatest advantage of the seller. Scarcely any specie is in circulation. The most common money, if such it may be called, is the notes of hand of individuals, which, however respectable as in some instances may be the credit of the drawers, is very inconvenient to adventurers, who can stay only a certain time, and cannot expect to pass such notes beyond the colony. There is, however, a good quantity of copper coin in circulation, which passes for double its value. It is not to my present purpose to examine into the policy or inconvenience of this currency, but however it may answer a local purpose, it is by no means so well suited to external trade. The colonists experience this to their no inconsiderable loss when they make any wholesale bargain with shipping. It was a subject of great rejoicing and general satisfaction to every rank of colonists, that previous to our quitting the colony, the governor had made a purchase of some thousands of dollars from the master of the ship, and was about to issue them in payment for grain taken into the store. The happy possessors of this specie would thus be enabled to make advantageous bargains with the Americans, or other ships proceeding to China.

At this time the selling price of animal food was as follows:

Pork 10d. to 1s. per lb.
Mutton 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.
Kangaroo 8d. to 9d.
Wheat 8s. per bushel.
Indian corn 4s. do.
Potatoes 8s. to 10s. do.
Onions 4d. per pound.
Poultry 2s. to 3s.
Geese 6s. to 7s.
Pumkins from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d.

It is to be understood that all these are for ready money; but here, as at Norfolk Island, a proportionate quantity of spirits will go much further.

For the information of shipping entering the port of Port Jackson, and our readers in general, the following public papers is subjoined.

PUBLIC ORDERS.

The Governor being instructed to put a stop to the unwarrantable and scandalous monopolies that have existed in this colony, which have not only been the cause of much distress and ruin to the settlers, but also injurious to the public interest, and that of his majesty's service;

It is directed that in future, no person is to go on board vessels arriving here, until permission is signified by an Union Jack hoisted on board the vessel, excepting such persons as the governor may authorise for that purpose. As soon after such arrivals as possible, the inhabitants will be informed whether government purchases or receives the whole, or any part, of such private investments as may be brought for sale; and a notice published of the rate at which such articles will be delivered to the inhabitants from the public stores, under proper and equal restrictions; and should the governor decline purchasing or receiving on the public account, measures will be taken to ascertain the value of the articles for sale, and in no case will private retailers be allowed to charge more than 20 per cent. on the purchase from the ship. And in order to enforce this regulation, all civil or criminal courts of judicature, that may hereafter be convened, are directed and enjoined, not to take cognizance of any action, suit, or demand, where the price sued for shall exceed that specified by the notice to be published after every ships arrival. And in case any articles are not mentioned therein, their value is to be estimated by an allowance of from 80 to 100 per cent. on the English or India price, and 20 per cent. on the retail. And as it has been the custom of the dealers, and their agents in this colony, in order to recover the enormous charges they have made on individuals, to procure their notes of hand for payment, without specifying how those debts have been incur-

red ; the governor, authorised by his instructions, and the local situation of the colony and its inhabitants, hereby directs the members of the civil courts of judicature, not to take cognizance of any suit, action, or demand, for the recovery of any alledged debts, unless he plaintiff produces a bill (and on oath if required) specifying the consideration and the price for which the defendant becomes indebted to him. This order is to be considered in full force and effect from this day.

And whereas from the indiscriminate manner in which every description of persons in the colony have circulated their promissory notes of hand not only much inconvenience has arisen, but also that it has occasioned the numerous forgeries that have been committed, for which some have suffered, and others remain under sentence of death, and many have been transported anew ; the governor therefore feels himself called on to put a stop to this ruinous practice. No written promissory notes of hand are to pass current, or be received, after the 30th instant : of which the magistrates and courts of justice are to take notice that their value be not admitted in evidence, or demand, after the above date. And that the inhabitants may not lose their claims on each other, and for their future accommodation, blank printed forms will be ready for delivery at the Secretary's office, on the 24th of October, to those alone whom the governor may approve of, and from the precaution that will be used, it is expected that no forgeries can be practised, and this mode of cir-

culating private notes be attended with much public benefit.

In consequence of the governors instructions, no person whatever is allowed to sell or retail any spirituous liquors, and if any person shall presume to land spirits or wines from any ship, without the governor's own permit in writing, such person's offending in the above, will be punished as the law directs for selling spirits without license, exclusive of their being seized for the use of the crown, and a proper notice being taken of the offenders, agreeable to the governors instructions on that behalf.

No greater demand for spirits, either by retail or wholesale, than 20 shillings per gallon, is to be admitted in any civil court or criminal prosecution.

By command of his excellency.

N. MACKELLAR, Secretary.

Given at Government House, Sydney,
October 1st, 1800.

In consequence of instructions received by the Britannia, all masters of vessels arriving with goods for sale, importers or consignees, are to deliver to the governor's secretary, a signed copy of the original invoice and prime cost of such articles (previous to permission being given to trade) to the truth of which they are to make oath if required.

By command of his excellency.

W. N. CHAPMAN, Secretary.

Given at Government House, Sydney,
April 3d, 1801.

These wholesome regulations, however, exist only in this public order ; the avarice of the retailers and petty traders renders these provisions nugatory, for by one means or another they contrive to evade them all. Instead of 20 per cent. they charge their own prices, which frequently exceed an 100 per cent.

The order with regard to the promissory notes, would be, it was hoped, of the most salutary effect ; the superabundance of these, as I have said before, not only much impeding the external trade, but, according to the reasons assigned in the foregoing paper, facilitating the practice of forgery, and thus annihilating public confidence even in the best bills. Such proficients are many of these people in the art of forgery, that some of them being employed in the public offices, and thus having access to the records of the colony, have dexterously for a gratuity changed the term of transportation, indeed so dexterously, that it was not till after this practice had been long carried to a considerable extent that their villainy was detected.

Many and frequent are the repetitions of the salutary admonition in the above public orders, to abstain from spirituous liquors ; their excess in this respect is the bane of the colony. Spirits, in moderation, are doubtless necassary to men fatigued with the labour and hardships unavoidable in an infant colony ; in Botany Bay, however, they are not used in this manner, the inhabitants being for the most part such as have received these habits from their early life. No arguments

are of any avail upon this point; reasoning and exhortation are equally lost. They observe absolutely no limits. Many of them, for the sake of a few gallons of spirituous liquors, have sold off all they possessed in the world, their farm, their stock, and every thing they either had for the present or expected in future. Others, to accomplish the same end, raising money no matter by what means, have subjected themselves, by bonds and other legal securities, to the caprice or rapacity of the traders. This latter description of men, generally speaking, are as destitute of mercy as moderation, and their unhappy debtors, from being comfortably situated, are thus reduced to begin the world anew.

It is lamentable for me here to observe that the women, instead of using any dissuasions in those instances, have more frequently urged them on to this ruinous practice, notwithstanding the degrading punishment to which they are subjected. Scarcely a week passes but some infamous transaction is traced to them as the original cause.

CHAP. XLIII.

CHARACTER OF THE DIFFERENT DESCRIPTIONS OF SETTLERS.... PUBLIC ORDERS

THE circumstances under which the colony was settled, and the very purpose of the settlement, has had a very visible effect upon the general manners, or what may be called the national character, of Botany Bay. The free settlers are not without something of the contagion, and have therefore nothing of that pride of integrity or sense of honour, which would otherwise belong to freemen. It is needless to say that this observation is not to be interpreted as having no exception; there are some, though indeed very few, who must take no part of this censure, but whose industry and upright conduct would do honour to any country.

In a country like this, nothing is so absolutely necessary, as a virtuous and industrious peasantry. At present these are composed of two descriptions of people, namely, the convicts whose terms of transportation being expired, or being released from the sentence of the law by emancipation, have been permitted to settle, and men with their families who have come free from England.

The first description of these were the first settlers, men of the most dissolute characters, whose conduct during the period of their servitude had the appearance of reformation, but was only restrained within the bounds of propriety from the fear of punishment; for no sooner were they restored to their rights and privileges as free men, than their vicious depravity shewed itself in idleness, drunkenness, and all the crimes their certain effects.

I cannot enumerate above eight or ten instances in the whole where the smallest propensity to industry appeared, and of those the celebrated Barrington, whilst in the free exercise of his faculties, stood highly conspicuous. Another of the classes of free men who became settlers, were the soldiers (marines) who first embarked on the expedition, and as a reward for their services were discharged from the service and were allowed to settle; these men, accustomed to restless lives, could not easily accustom themselves to domestic habits, they disliked hard work, and, released from the strictness of military discipline, they abandoned themselves to drunkenness and other vices already too prevalent in the colony, and in a very few years their farms were sold for the consideration of a few gallons of spirits, and themselves, wretched and miserable, glad to enlist again into the service.

There are another description of settlers, who consist of people who with their families, have been sent from England by the government at

a very heavy expence, for the express purpose of settling in it.

From these people much was expected, but in respect to them the government and the colony has been most grossly deceived.

From upwards of 100 families who have been sent from England, there are not above 8 or 10 between whom and the convicts the smallest degree of discrimination could be drawn. It may perhaps be deemed presumption in me to offer an opinion, but it is of the utmost importance to be guarded against the improper characters who offer themselves as candidates to settle in New South Wales, and do by one means or other get recommended. It is a matter of the greatest consequence both to government and the colony.

Amongst the number hitherto sent out as free settlers, have been characters of a very suspicious nature, who have narrowly escaped being sent out contrary to their inclinations: some of them low mechanics who had failed in business with large families; and who, had they remained in the country, would have become burdensome to their parishes. Others, men of dissolute idle habits whose friends were glad to get rid of them by recommending them as settlers for New South Wales.

Such were the characters of many sent out to cultivate the country. In general they had no knowledge of farming; and having never been accustomed to habits of industry at home, they could not assume them in New South Wales; and after enjoying the indulgences granted by go-

vernment to settlers, they were found unable to support their families and became a burden both to the government and the colony. The indulgences granted by government to settlers, I am confident, are perfectly sufficient to place a man of industry in a situation to provide for his family within the term these indulgences cease. The proper objects for settlers in that country, would be the honest industrious peasant, born and brought up in the habits of temperance, hard labour and industry. Settlers of that description would import with them habits of morality and industry, hitherto unknown in the colony; and would eventually tend to diminish the great expences of the government. In America the settlers bought for a sum of money the services of the convicts; so that the government incurred no expence. These men secluded from their vicious companions, accustomed to the regularity of a moral industrious family, an example which probably none of them had ever before the benefit of, came from that family at the expiration of their term of transportation, a new set of people; and many afterwards became valuable members of society. This is not the case in New South Wales; there the free settler has often been detected as the accomplice of the convict in his villainous depredations.

If a sufficient number of free and respectable settlers were in the country, it is to be hoped that the government would render their condition more tolerable, by imparting to them some of the benefits of the free constitution of their native

country. The trial by jury would in this case be very desirable, instead of that by civil and military officers.

Heavy complaints being made by the settlers, whilst in fact the fault rested with themselves, that however benevolent were the intentions of government, they were all frustrated and rendered ineffectual by the rapacity of a few monied men, who consulting their own interest, and utterly disregarding the good of the settlement, demanded most exorbitant prices for the imported commodities; government remedied this evil with equal wisdom and benevolence, and the following public orders were issued.

PUBLIC ORDERS.

His majesty having taken into his most gracious consideration, the inconveniences that the inhabitants of this colony have in general laboured under, from the excessive prices demanded by adventurers and retailers, for articles of necessary use; and the better to enable them to raise grain at a cheap rate, has been pleased to direct a considerable quantity of articles for common consumption, to be shipped on board the Earl Cornwallis, which is shortly expected; and to be disposed of by the commissary, in exchange for grain, and animal food, supplied the public stores, at an advance of 30 per cent. on perishable, and 20 per cent. on unperishable, articles; to indemni-

fy the public for freight, losses, and issuing in small quantities. A list of the articles will be published on Monday next, to prevent the inhabitants from making any purchases at an extravagant rate.

By command of his excellency,
W. N. CHAPMAN, Secretary.

Sydney, May 30th, 1801.

NOTICE.

The undermentioned are the articles sent by government in the Earl Cornwallis, with the prices, and 30 per cent. added: at which rate they will be disposed of to the inhabitants, for their domestic uses, for money; and in exchange for grain, or animal food, supplied his majesty's stores.

Soap, from eightpence halfpenny to ninepence halfpenny per lb.

Glass, from sevenpence farthing to tenpence halfpenny per foot.

White-lead, sevenpence farthing per lb.

Red paint, fourpence per lb.

Linseed-oil, from seven shillings and one farthing to seven shillings and sevenpence per gallon.

Oval dishes, seventeen shillings and fourpence per set.

Plates, from three halfpence to threepence each.

Other articles of earthen and glass ware in proportion, as per list at the commissary's office.

Ivory combs, from two shillings and twopence halfpenny to sixteen shillings and sixpence per do.

Wax candles, three shillings and elevenpence three farthings per lb.

Gilt buttons, from eight shillings and sevenpence farthing to thirteen shillings and ninepence per gross.

Children's shoes, nineteen shillings and twopence farthing to one pound seven shillings per dozen.

Girls do. one pound seventeen shillings and fourpence three farthings to two pounds eight shillings and fivepence halfpenny per dozen.

Women's do. stuff and leather, two pounds thirteen shillings and sixpence to three pounds seven shillings and ninepence halfpenny per dozen.

Coloured cloths (yard wide) six shillings and twopence threefarthings to six shillings and sixpence halfpenny per yard.

Duck, one shilling and ninepence farthing per yard.

Welch flannel, two shillings and a halfpenny to two shillings and fivepence farthing per yard.

Irish linen, two shillings and three farthings to three shillings and eight pence three farthings per yard.

Durants, one pound two shillings and sixpence to two pounds one shilling and sevenpence farthing per piece.

Callimancoes, one pound fourteen shillings and three halfpence per piece.

Wildboro's, one pound eighteen shillings and one halfpenny per piece.

Camblets, two pounds eight shillings and one penny farthing per piece.

Printed calicoes, two shillings to four shillings per yard.

Chintz handkerchiefs, two shillings and ninepence three farthings to two shillings and tenpence halfpenny each.

Cheque, one shilling and sixpence farthing per yard.

Muslin handkerchiefs, two shillings and sixpence to three shillings and threepence each.

Muslin, three shillings and fivepence three farthings to three shillings and eleven pence per yard.

Cotton cheque handkerchiefs, one shilling and eightpence farthing each.

Pollicat do. two shillings and threepence halfpenny each.

Women's black cotton and worsted hose, two shillings and eightpence halfpenny to three shillings per pair.

Black mode, four shillings and fourpence to five shillings and eightpence per yard.

Coloured persian, two shillings and fivepence per yard.

Ribands, eight shillings and sixpence to one pound ten shillings per piece.

Silk ferretings, six shillings and sixpence per piece.

Sewing silks, one pound eleven shillings and threepence to two pounds four shillings and threepence per lb.

Silk twist, one pound eleven shillings and threepence per pound.

Thread, three shillings and sevenpence to two pounds and fourpence per lb.

Tapes, sixpence halfpenny to one shilling and fivepence per piece.

Bobbings, threepence to eightpence three farthings per piece.

Shirt-buttons, one shilling and fourpence to two shillings and tenpence per gross.

Thread edging, one shilling and one penny farthing to two shillings and sevenpence farthing per yard.

Needles, seven shillings and twopence per thousand.

Pins, three shillings and eightpence three farthings per lb.

Fig blue, one shilling and fourpence halfpenny per lb.

Applications to be made at my office, on Monday mornings, before ten o'clock, that they may receive the governor's approbation. No article will be issued until payment is made, or security given.

By command of his excellency,

J. PALMER, Commissary.

Sydney, June 25th, 1801.

The present plan bids fair to answer the purpose intended; for if the colonists had hitherto paid extravagantly both for necessaries and comforts, they now had them both as reasonably as they could have purchased them in the mother country. Sugar, in 1804, was retailing at tenpence per pound; and tea, from five to seven shillings; and every other article equally cheap in proportion.

CHAP. XLIV.

CONCLUSION.

UPON the first establishment of this settlement, the policy of the establisment was much doubted, and its future existence treated by many as visionary. The experiment of a regular government for fifteen years, in a region so extensive, and so distant from the mother country, has now been made, and the colony at present wears a favourable aspect.

Time, the great unraveller of all events, will confirm or ratify these conjectures, and show how far the knowledge of this lately discovered part of the globe may be directed towards the reformation of society, and to the honour of the present generation for whom it was reserved.

According to the present prospect it may be safely said, that, with some degree of forecast, and encouragement of agriculture, and particularly the growth and preservation of live stock, animal

food will be in great abundance, and this and every other species of provisions will be much cheaper than in the mother country ; nor will this probably be at any great distance of time. A few years may be reasonably expected to produce this change. The writer is also of opinion, that if the settlement continues in that tranquillity, which may be reasonably expected from the attention and liberality of government, the growth of manufactures, from the present state and circumstances of the colony, will be much more rapid than it has hitherto been. Government have already established a manufactory of coarse woollen cloth from the country wool; and though their workmen are at present but few, and the quantity manufactured of course very moderate, it promises a very rapid increase. Several pieces of linen and canvas have been likewise manufactured from the country flax. An individual has established a kind of pottery for the coarser ware, at Parramatta. A water mill, the only one in the colony, was nearly completed. It is difficult to form a just estimate of the happiness of any nation ; but as far as our judgment and observations may be trusted, in our intercourse with the natives of the different countries which we visited, we found them all equally tenacious of their own habits and customs. This is so generally true, that we cannot except from it even the natives of New Holland, who, however barbarous, are still as attached to their former modes of life, as the inhabitants of the banks of the Ganges. No dawn of civilization has been as yet able to penetrate through the gloom of this ten-

fold darkness; and years, even centuries, must elapse before they can become so initiated in the very elements of civil life, as to be fit members of a social community, and fit objects for government and regulation.

As we now approach the conclusion of our narrative, the author begs leave to observe, that in such a variety of matter, it must not be expected that his opinion will always perfectly coincide with that of others. There are few circumstances in which many men will be found to agree, every one making his own condition and habits of life the standard of his private judgment. It has been his undeviating effort throughout the whole of his work, to confine himself to those objects which were most suited to interest the general reader.

If mistaken in any of these opinions, he begs leave to assure the reader, that such errors are by no means intentional; and again to repeat, that it is principally through the persuasion of his friends, that ever they made their appearance.

The Calcutta having completed her repairs and cargo, the captain, the companion of our toilsome enterprise, and myself, embarked on board that ship in very ill health, brought on by a long course of hardship and fatigue. On the following day we bad adieu to this settlement, where, from party divisions, and the ill habits of the convicts, it requires some discretion in a stranger to steer clear of offence. This colony has at all times suffered much from a want of union and co-operation amongst the servants of government: it would otherwise have possibly reached a higher

point of prosperity. Let us indulge the hope that these divisions will soon terminate in a concord, as much to be wished by the parties themselves, as advantageous to the circumstances of the colony. Twice during the voyage did I visit this settlement, and at both times found the same fatal disunion.

After having escaped so many imminent perils, we were now happy in the prospect of shortly reaching our native country, and once more returning to the blessings of enlarged society, to both which we had now been long strangers.

The voyage of the Calcutta having been already given to the public, we shall not delay the conclusion of our narrative by a tedious repetition of circumstances with which the public are already acquainted. It would however be both unjust and ungenerous not to acknowledge the kindness and attention shown us whilst on board that ship.

At length, after an absence of four years and thirty-one days, the long-lost shores of Albion made their appearance ; a sight, as the reader may naturally suppose, which produced in our minds the most grateful sensations to that beneficent Providence, who so often interposed in our behalf, when even hope itself had almost vanished. Two days after we anchored at Spithead, in the midst of a fleet of ships, the defence and just pride of their country.

THE END.

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Turnbull, John

A voyage round the world, in the years 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804 In which the author visited the principal islands in the Pacific Ocean and the English settlements of Port Jackson and Norfolk Island

Philadelphia 1810

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